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ELEMENTS

OF

GENERAL HISTORY.

ELEMENTS

OF

GENERAL HISTORY,

ANCIENT AND MODERN.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

A TABLE OF CHRONOLOGY,

AND

A COMPARATIVE VIEW OF ANCIENT AND MODERN GEOGRAPHY.

ILLUSTRATED BY MAPS.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

THE FOURTH EDITION.

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PREFACE

TO THE

FIRST EDITION.

THE following Work contains the Outlines of a Course of Lectures on General History, delivered for many years in the University of Edinburgh, and received with a portion of the public approbation amply sufficient to compensate the labours of the Author. He began to compose these Elements principally with the view of furnishing an aid to the Students attending those Lectures; but soon conceived, that by giving a little more amplitude to their composition,

he might render the Work of more general utility. As now given to the Public, he would willingly flatter himself, it may be not only serviceable to Youth, in furnishing a regular plan for the prosecution of this most important Study, but useful even to those who have acquired a competent knowledge of General History from the perusal of the Works of detached Historians, and who wish to methodise that knowledge, or even to refresh their memory on material facts and the order of events.

In the composition of these Elements, the Author has endeavoured to unite with the detail of facts so much of reflection, as to aid the mind in the formation of rational views of the causes and consequences of events, as well as of the policy of the actors; but he has anxiously guarded against that speculative refinement which has sometimes entered into works of this nature, which, professing to exhibit the Philosophy or the Spirit of

History, are more fitted to display the writer's ingenuity as a Theorist, or his talents as a Rhetorician, than to instruct the Reader in the more useful knowledge of Historical Facts.

As the progress of the Human Mind forms a capital object in the Study of History, the State of the Arts and Sciences, the Religion, Laws, Government, and Manners of Nations, are material parts, even in an elementary work of this nature. The History of Literature is a most important article in this study. The Author has therefore endeavoured to give to each of these topics its due share of attention; and in that view, they are separately treated, in distinct sections, at particular periods.——Of the defects of this Work the Author is more sensible than perhaps any other person can be. Of any merits it may possess beyond those of simplicity and perspicuity, those are the best judges who have an extensive

knowledge of the subject, and who know the difficulty of giving general views, and of analysing a Science so comprehensive and complicated as UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

ALEX. FRASER TYTLER.

Edinburgh, April 1801.

ADVERTISEMENT

TO THE

SECOND EDITION.

In the Second Edition, several Errors were corrected, a few omissions likewise supplied, and some amplifications made in the Text, where they seemed necessary for the better illustration of the subject.—The whole work has undergone an attentive revisal; and, it is hoped, is thereby rendered less unworthy of the reception which the public indulgence has already given to it.

CONTENTS

OF

VOLUME FIRST.

INTRODUCTION.

Advantages arising from the Study of History, and more particularly from prosecuting it according to a regular plan, - - - Page 1

Plan of the course, - - - . 6

PART FIRST.

ANCIENT HISTORY.

SECT. I.

Earliest authentic Accounts of the History of the World, 19

SECT. II.

Considerations on the Nature of the first Governments, and on the Laws, Customs, Arts, and Sciences of the early Ages - - - 21

SECT. III.

Of the Egyptians, - - 28

SECT. IV.

Of the Phoenicians, - - - 34

SECT. V.

The History of Greece, - - - 35

SECT. VI.

Reflections on the first and rudest periods of the Grecian History, - - - 38

SECT. VII.

Early period of the Grecian History.—Argonautic Expedition.—Wars of Thebes and of Troy - Page 40

SECT. VIII.

Establishment of the Greek colonies, - 44

SECT. IX.

The Republic of Sparta, - - 46

SECT. X.

The Republic of Athens, - - 52

SECT. XI.

Of the State of the Persian Empire, and its History down to the War with Greece, - - 58

SECT. XII.

The War between Greece and Persia, - - 63

SECT. XIII.

Age of Pericles, - - - 69

SECT. XIV.

The Republic of Thebes, - - 74

SECT. XV.

Philip of Macedon, - - 76

SECT. XVI.

Alexander the Great, - - 79

SECT. XVII.

Successors of Alexander, - - 85

SECT. XVIII.

Fall and conquest of Greece, - - 87

SECT. XIX.

Political Reflections arising from the History of the States of Greece, - - Page 90

SECT. XX.

State of the Arts in Greece, - - 95

SECT. XXI.

Of the Greek Poets, - - 101

SECT. XXII.

Of the Greek Historians, - - 108

SECT. XXIII.

Of the Greek Philosophers, - - 112

SECT. XXIV.

The History of Rome, - - 120

Reflections on the Government and State of Rome under the Kings, - - - 130

SECT. XXV.

Rome under the Consuls, - - 134

SECT. XXVI.

The Laws of Volero, - - 142

SECT. XXVII.

The Decemvirate, - - 144

SECT. XXVIII.

Increase of the Popular Power, - - 147

SECT. XXIX.

Conquest of Italy by the Romans, - - 152

SECT. XXX.

History of Carthage, - - 155

SECT. XXXI.

History of Sicily, - - Page 157

SECT. XXXII.

The Punic Wars, - - - 160

SECT. XXXIII.

The Gracchi, and the Corruption of the Commonwealth, - - 168

SECT. XXXIV.

Progress of the Civil Wars.—Second Triumvirate,—and Fall of the Republic, - 176

SECT. XXXV.

Considerations on such particulars as mark the Genius and national Character of the Romans, - 187

System of Roman Education, *ib.*

SECT. XXXVI.

Of the progress of Literature among the Romans, 190

SECT. XXXVII.

State of Philosophy among the Romans, 201

SECT. XXXVIII.

Of the Public and Private Manners of the Romans, 205

SECT. XXXIX.

Of the Art of War among the Romans, 209

SECT. XL.

Reflections arising from a View of the Roman History during the Commonwealth, 215

SECT. XLI.

Rome under the Emperors 222

SECT. XLII.

The same subject continued, - Page 232

SACT. XLIII.

Age of Antonines, &c. - - 241

SECT. XLIV.

State of the Roman Empire at the time of Constantine. His Successors, - - - 249

SECT. XLV.

Progress of the christian Religion, from its Institution to the Extinction of Paganism in the Reign of Theodosius, - - 259

SECT. XLVI.

Extinction of the Roman empire in the West, - 265

SECT. XLVII.

Of the Origin, Manners, and Character of the Gothic Nations before their establishment in the Roman Empire, - - - 273

SECT. XLVIII.

Of the Manners, Laws, and Government of the Gothic Nations after their establishment in the Roman Empire, - - - - 279

SECT. XLIX.

Method of studying Ancient History, - 287

. . . . . .

Comparative View of Ancient and Modern Geography, 301

Map of the WORLD

From the latest and best AUTHORITIES





INTRODUCTION.

1. THE value of any science is to be estimated according to its tendency to promote improvement, either in private virtue, or in those qualities which render man extensively useful in society.—Some objects of pursuit have a secondary utility; in furnishing rational amusement, which, relieving the mind at intervals from the fatigue of serious occupation, invigorates and prepares it for fresh exertion. It is the perfection of any science, to unite these advantages, to promote the advancement of public and private virtue, and to supply such a degree of amusement, as to supersede the necessity of recurring to frivolous pursuits for the sake of relaxation. Under this description falls the science of History.

2. HISTORY, says Dionysius of Halicarnassus, is "Philosophy teaching by examples."

The superior efficacy of example to precept is universally acknowledged.—All the laws of morality and rules of conduct are verified by experience, and are constantly submitted to its test and examination. History, which adds to our own experience an immense treasure of the experience of others, furnishes innumerable proofs, by which we may verify all the precepts of morality and of prudence.

3. History, besides its general advantages, has a distinct species of utility to different men, according to their several ranks in society, and occupations in life.

4. In this country, it is an indispensable duty of every man of liberal birth, to be acquainted, in a certain degree, with the science of Politics; and History is the school of Politics. It opens to us the springs of human affairs; the causes of the rise, grandeur, revolutions, and fall of empires. It points out the reciprocal influence of government and of national manners: It dissipates prejudices, nourishes the love of our country, and directs to the best means of its improvement: It illus-

trates equally the blessings of political union, and the miseries of faction; the danger, on the one hand, of uncontrouled liberty, and, on the other, the debasing influence of despotic power.

5. It is necessary that the study of History should be prosecuted according to a regular plan; for this science, more perhaps than any other, is liable to perversion from its proper use. With some it is no better than an idle amusement; with others it is the food of vanity; with a third class it fosters the prejudices of party, and leads to political bigotry. It is dangerous for those who, even with the best intentions, seek for historical knowledge, to pursue the study without a guide; for no science has been so little methodized. The sources of prejudice are infinite; and the mind of youth should not be left undirected amidst the erring, the partial, and contradictory representations of Historians. Besides the importance of being able to discriminate truth from falsehood, the attention ought to be directed only to useful truths.—Much danger arises from the perusal of memoirs, collections,

of anecdotes, &c. for many of those works exhibit the most depraved pictures, weaken our confidence in virtue, and present the most unfavourable views of human nature.

6. THERE are are many difficulties which attend the attempt of forming a proper plan of study, and giving an instructive view of General History. Utility is to be reconciled with amusement, prejudices are to be encountered, variety of taste to be consulted, political opinions balanced, judgment and decision exercised on topics keenly controverted. The proposer of such a plan ought therefore to be possessed equally of firmness of mind, and moderation of sentiment. In many cases he must abandon popularity for the calm approbation of his own conscience. Disregarding every partial and inferior consideration, he must direct his view solely to the proper end of all education, The forming of good men, and of good citizens.

7. THE object and general purpose of the following Course, is to exhibit a progressive view of the state of mankind, from the ear-

liest ages of which we have any authentic accounts, down to the close of the 17th century,—to delineate the origin of states and of empires, the great outlines of their history, the revolutions which they have undergone, the causes which have contributed to their rise and grandeur, and operated to their decline and extinction.

For these purposes, it is necessary to bestow particular attention on the manners of nations, their laws, the nature of their governments, their religion, their intellectual improvements, and their progress in the arts and sciences.

PLAN OF THE COURSE.

Two opposite methods have been followed in giving Academical Lectures on the study of History: the one exhibiting a strict chronological arrangement of events, upon the plan of Turselline's Epitome; the other, a series of disquisitions on the various heads or titles of public law, and the doctrines of politics; illustrated by examples drawn from ancient and modern history.—Objections occur to both these methods: the former furnishes only a dry chronicle of events, which nothing connects together but the order of time: the latter is insufficient for the most important purposes of history, the tracing events to their causes, the detection of the springs of human actions, the display of the progress of society, and of the rise and fall of states and empires: Finally, by confining history to the exemplification of the doctrines of politics, we loose its effect as a school of morals.

In the following Lectures, we hold a middle course between these extremes, and endeavour, by remedying the imperfection of each, to unite, if possible, the advantages of both.

While so much regard is had to Chronology as is necessary for showing the progress of mankind in society, and communicating just ideas of the state of the world in all the different ages to which authentic history extends, we shall, in the delineation of the rise and fall of empires and their revolutions, pay more attention to the connexion of *subject* than that of *time*.

In this view, we must reject the common method of arranging General History according to epochs, or aeras.

When the world is viewed at any period either of ancient or of modern history, we generally observe one nation or empire predominant, to whom all the rest bear as it were an under part, and to whose history we find that the principal events in the annals of other nations may be referred from some natural connexion. This predominant empire or state it is proposed to exhibit to view as the principal object, whose history therefore is to be

more fully delineated, while the rest are only incidentally touched when they come to have a natural connexion with the principal.

The Jewish history, belonging to a different department of academical education, enters not into the plan of these Lectures; though we often resort to the sacred writings for detached facts illustrative of the manners of ancient nations.

In the ancient world, among the profane nations, the Greeks are the earliest people who make a distinguished figure, and whose history is at the same time authentic.

The Greeks owed their civilization to the Egyptians and Phoenicians. The Grecian history is therefore properly introduced by a short account of these nations, and of the Assyrians, their rivals, conquered at one time by the Egyptians, and conquerors afterwards of them in their turn.

Rise of the independent states of Greece, and singular constitution of the two great republics of Sparta and Athens.

The war of Greece with Persia induces a short account of the preceding periods of the history of that nation, the rise of the Persian

monarchy, the nature of its government, manners, and religion.

The Grecian history is pursued through all the revolutions of the nation, till Greece becomes a province of the Roman empire.

Political reflections applicable to the history of the states of Greece.—Progress of the Greeks in the arts.—Of the Greek Poets,—Historians,—Philosophers.

Rome, after the conquest of Greece, becomes the leading object of attention.

Origin of the Romans.—Nature of their government under the Kings.—Easy substitution of the consular for the regal dignity.—Subsequent changes in the constitution.—Progress to a democracy.—Extension of the Roman arms.—Conquest of Italy.—Wars with foreign nations.

The Punic wars open a collateral view to the history of Carthage and of Sicily.

Success of the Roman arms in Asia, Macedonia, and Greece.—Opulence of the republic from her conquests, and corruption of her manners.—The civil wars, and ruin of the commonwealth.

Particulars which mark the genius and national spirit of the Romans: Education,—Laws,—Literary character,—Art of war,—Public and private manners.

Rome under the Emperors:—Artful policy by which the first Emperors disguised their absolute authority; Decline of the ambitious character of the Romans;—Easy submission to the loss of civil liberty;—The military spirit purposely abased by the Emperors;—The empire divided becomes a languid body, without internal vigour;—The Gothic nations pour down from the North;—Italy conquered successively by the Heruli, Ostrogoths, and Lombards;—Extinction of the Western Empire.

The manners, genius, laws, and government of the Gothic nations, form an important object of inquiry, from their influence on the manners and policy of the modern European kingdoms.

In the delineation of Modern History, the leading objects of attention are more various; the scene is oftener changed: Nations, too,

which for a while occupy the chief attention, become for a time subordinate, and afterwards re-assume their rank as principal; yet the same plan is pursued as in the department of Ancient History; the picture is occupied only by one great object at a time, to which all the rest hold an inferior rank, and are taken notice of only when connected with the principal.

Upon the fall of the Western Empire, the Saracens are the first who distinguish themselves by the extension of their conquests, and the splendor of their dominion.

While the Saracens extend their arms in the East and in Africa, a new empire of the West is founded by Charlemagne.—The rise and progress of the monarchy of the Franks.—The origin of the Feudal system.—State of the European manners in the age of Charlemagne.—Government, Arts and Sciences, Literature.

As collateral objects of attention, we survey the remains of the Roman Empire in the East; the conquests and settlements of the Normans; the foundation and progress of the

temporal dominion of the church of Rome; conquest of Spain by the Saracens.

The conquest of England by the Normans solicits our attention to the history of Britain. Retrospective view of the British history, from its earliest period to the end of the Anglo-Saxon government in England.—Observations on the government, laws, and manners, of the Anglo-Saxons.

Collateral view of the state of the continental kingdoms of Europe during the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries.—France under the Capetian race of monarchs.—Conquests of the Normans in Italy and Sicily.—State of the Northern kingdoms of Europe.—The Eastern empire.—Empire of Germany.—Disputes of supremacy between the Popes and the Emperors.

The history of Britain still the principal object of attention.—England under the kings of the Norman line, and the first princes of the Plantagenet branch.—The conquest of Ireland under Henry II. introduces an anticipated progressive view of the political connexion between England and Ireland down to the present time.—As we proceed in the

delineation of the British history, we note particularly those circumstances which mark the growth of the English constitution.

At this period all the kingdoms of Europe join in the Crusades.—A brief account is given of those enterprises.—Moral and political effects of the Crusades on the nations of Europe.—Origin of Chivalry, and rise of Romantic Fiction.

Short connected sketch of the state of the European nations after the Crusades.—Rise of the house of Austria.—Decline of the Feudal government in France.—Establishment of the Swiss republics.—Disorders in the Popedom.—Council of Constance.

The history of Britain resumed.—England under Henry III. and Edward I.—The conquest of Wales.—The history of Scotland at this period intimately connected with that of England.—View of the Scottish history from Malcolm Canmore to Robert Bruce.—State of both kingdoms during the reigns of Edward II. and III.—The history of France connected with that of Britain.—France itself won by Henry V.

The state of the East at this period affords the most interesting object of attention.—The progress of the Ottoman arms retarded for a while by the conquests of Tamerlane and of Scanderbeg.—The Turks prosecute their victories under Mahomet the Great, to the total extinction of the Constantinopolitan empire.—The constitution and policy of the Turkish empire.

France, in this age, emancipates herself from the Feudal servitude; and Spain, from the union of Arragon and Castile, and the fall of the kingdom of the Moors, becomes one monarchy under Ferdinand and Isabella.

The history of Britain is resumed.—Sketch of the history of England down to the reign of Henry VIII.; of Scotland, during the reigns of the five Jameses.—Delineation of the ancient constitution of the Scottish government.

The end of the fifteenth century is a remarkable aera in the history of Europe. Learning and the sciences underwent at that time a very rapid improvement; and, after ages of darkness, shone out at once with surprising lustre.—A connected view is presented of the

progress of literature in Europe, from its revival down to this period.—In the same age, the advancement of Navigation, and the course to India by the Cape of Good Hope, explored by the Portuguese, affect the commerce of all the European kingdoms.

The age of Charles V. unites in one connected view the affairs of Germany, of Spain, of France, of England, and of Italy. The discovery of the New World, the reformation in Germany and in England, and the splendor of the Fine Arts under the pontificate of Leo X. render this period one of the most interesting in the annals of mankind.

The pacification of Europe, by the treaty of Catteau Cambresis, allows us for a while to turn our attention to the state of Asia. A short sketch is given of the modern history of Persia, and the state of the other kingdoms of Asia, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; the history of India; the manners, laws, arts and sciences, and religion of the Hindoos; the history of China and Japan; the antiquity of the Chinese empire, its manners, laws, government, and attainments in the arts and sciences.

Returning to Europe, the attention is directed to the state of the continental kingdoms in the age of Philip II. Spain, the Netherlands, France, and England, present a various and animated picture.

England, under Elisabeth. The progress of the Reformation in Scotland. The distracted reign of Mary Queen of Scots.—The history of Britain pursued without interruption down to the Revolution, and here closed by a sketch of the progress of the English constitution, and an examination of its nature at this period, when it became fixed and determined.

The history of the Southern continental kingdoms is brought down to the end of the reign of Lewis XIV.; of the Northern, to the conclusion of the reigns of Charles XII. of Sweden, and of Peter the Great, Czar of Muscovy.

We finish this view of Universal History, by a survey of the state of the Arts and Sciences, and of the progress of Literature in Europe, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The Chronology observed in this View of Universal History, is that of Archbishop Usher, which is founded on the Hebrew text of the Sacred Writings. A short Table of Chronology is subjoined to these Heads, for the ease of the Student; and Maps are added of Ancient and Modern Geography, delineated according to the best Authorities.

ANCIENT HISTORY.

PART FIRST.

I.

It is a difficult task to delineate the state of mankind in the earliest ages of the world. We want information sufficient to give us positive ideas on the subject; but as man advances in civilization, and in proportion as history becomes useful and important, its certainty increases, and its materials are more abundant.

Various notions have been formed with respect to the population of the antediluvian world and its physical appearance; but as these are rather matters of theory than of fact, they scarcely fall within the province of His-

tory; and they are of the less consequence, that we are certain the state of those antediluvian ages could have had no material influence on the times which succeeded them.

The books of Moses afford the earliest authentic history of the ages immediately following the deluge.

About 150 years after that event, Nimrod (the Belus of profane historians) built Babylon, and Assur Nineveh, which became the capital of the Assyrian empire.

Ninus the son of Belus, and his queen Semiramis, are said to have raised the empire of Assyria to a higher degree of splendor.

From the death of Ninias the son of Ninus, down to the revolt of the Medes under Sardanapalus, a period of 800 years, there is a chasm in the history of Assyria and Babylon. This is to be supplied only from conjecture.

The earliest periods of the Egyptian history are equally uncertain with those of the Assyrian.—Menes is supposed the first king of Egypt; probably the Misraim of the Holy Scriptures, the grandson of Noah, or, as others conjecture, the Oziris of Egypt, the inventor

of arts, and the civilizer of a great part of the Eastern world.

After Menes or Oziris, Egypt appears to have been divided into four dynasties, Thebes, Thin, Memphis, and Tanis, and the people to have attained a considerable degree of civilization: But a period of barbarism succeeded under the Shepherd-kings, subsisting for the space of some centuries, down to the age of Sesostris, (1650 A. C.), who united the separate principalities into one kingdom, regulated its policy with admirable skill, and distinguished himself equally by his foreign conquests, and by his domestic administration.

II.

CONSIDERATIONS ON THE NATURE OF THE FIRST GOVERNMENTS, AND ON THE LAWS, CUSTOMS, ARTS, AND SCIENCES, OF THE EARLY AGES.

§ 1. THE earliest Government is the Patriarchal, which subsists in the rudest periods of society.

This has an easy progress to the monarchical.

The first monarchies must have been very weak, and their territory extremely limited. The idea of security precedes that of conquest. In forming our notions of the extent of the first monarchies, we are deceived by the word King, which, according to modern ideas, is connected with an extent of territory, and a proportional power.—The kings in scripture are no more than the chiefs of tribes. There were five kings in the vale of Sodom. Joshua defeated in his wars thirty-one kings, and Adonizedec threescore and ten.

The regal office was in all probability at first elective. The transmission of the sceptre to the heir of the last monarch, arises in time, from the experience of the mischiefs attending frequent elections, and the disorders occasioned by ambitious men aspiring at that dignity.

The first ideas of conquest must have proceeded from a people in the state of shepherds, who, necessarily changing their pastures, would probably make incursions on the appropriated territory of their neighbours. Such were the Arabian or Phoenician invaders, who under

the name of Shepherd-kings conquered Egypt. But kingdoms so founded could have little duration. Laws, and good policy, essential to the stability of kingdoms, are the fruit of intellectual refinement, and arise only in a state of society considerably advanced in civilization.

The progress from barbarism to civilization is slow; because every step in the progress is the result of necessity, after the experience of an error, or the strong feeling of a want.

§ 2. *Origin of Laws.*—Certain political writers have supposed, that in the infancy of society penal laws must have been extremely mild. We presume the contrary to have been rather the case; as the more barbarous the people, the stronger must be the bonds to restrain them: and history confirms the supposition, in the ancient laws of the Jews, Egyptians, Greeks, Romans, and Gauls.

Among the earliest laws of all states are those regarding marriage; for the institution of marriage is coeval with the formation of society. The first sovereigns of all states are said to have instituted marriage; and the ear

liest laws provided encouragements to matrimony.

Among the ancient nations, the husband purchased his wife, by money, or personal services. Among the Assyrians, the marriageable women were put up to auction; and the price obtained for the more beautiful was assigned as a dowry to the more homely.

The Laws of Succession are next in order to those of marriage. The father had the absolute power in the division of his estate.—But primogeniture was understood to confer certain rights.

Laws arise necessarily and imperceptibly from the condition of society; and each particular law may be traced from the state of manners, or the political emergency which gave it birth. Hence we perceive the intimate connection between history and jurisprudence, and the light which they must necessarily throw upon each other. The laws of a country are best interpreted from its history; and its uncertain history is best elucidated by its ancient laws.

§ 3. *Earliest Methods of authenticating Contracts.*—Before the invention of writing, contracts, testaments, sales, marriages, and the like, were transacted in public.—The Jewish and the Grecian histories furnish examples.—Some barbarous nations authenticate their bargains by exchanging symbols or tallies.—The Peruvians accomplished most of the purposes of writing by knotted cords of various colours; termed *Quipos.*—The Mexicans communicated intelligence to a distance by painting.—Other nations used an abridged mode of painting, or hieroglyphics.—Before writing, the Egyptians used hieroglyphics for transmitting and recording knowledge: After writing, they employed it for veiling or concealing it from the vulgar.

§ 4. *Methods for recording Historical Facts, and publishing Laws.*—Poetry and song were the first vehicles of history, and the earliest mode of promulgating laws. The songs of the bards record a great deal of ancient history: the laws of many of the ancient nations were composed in verse.

Stones, rude and sculptured, *tumuli* and mounds of earth, are the monuments of history among a barbarous people; and columns, triumphal arches, coins, and medals, among a more refined.—These likewise illustrate the progress of manners and of the arts.

§ 5. *Religious Institutions.*—Among the earliest institutions of all nations, are those which regard religious worship. The sentiment of religion is deeply rooted in the human mind. An uninstructed savage will infer the existence of a God, and his attributes, from the general order and mechanism of nature; and even its temporary irregularities lead to religious veneration of the unknown Power which conducts it.

Before conceiving the idea of a Being utterly imperceptible to his senses, a savage would naturally seek that Being in the most striking objects of sense to which he owed his most apparent benefits. The sun, extending his beneficial influence over all nature, was among the earliest objects of worship. The fire presented a symbol of the sun. The other celestial bodies naturally attracted their share of veneration.

The symbolical mode of writing led to many peculiarities of the idolatrous worship of the ancient nations. Animals, symbolical of the attributes of Deity, became gods themselves. The same God, represented by different animals, was supposed to have changed himself into different forms.—The gratitude and veneration for men whose lives had been eminently useful, joined to the belief of the soul's immortality, led to the *apotheosis* of heroes.—Many excellent reflections on idolatry and polytheism are found in the book called *The Wisdom of Solomon.*

The priesthood was anciently exercised by the chief or monarch; but as an empire became extensive, the monarch exercised this office by his delegates; and hence an additional source of veneration for the priesthood. The priests were the framers and the administrators of the laws.

§ 6. *Arts and Sciences of the Ancient Nations.*—The useful Arts are the offspring of necessity; the sciences are the fruit of ease and leisure. The construction of huts, of weapons of war, and of hunting, are the earliest arts. Agriculture is not practised till the

tribe becomes stationary, and property is defined and secured.

The Sciences arise in a cultivated society, where individuals enjoy that leisure which invites to study and speculation. The priests maintained in that condition by the monarch, were the earliest cultivators of science. The Egyptian science was confined to the priests. Astronomy, which is among the earliest of the sciences, owed its origin probably to superstition. Medicine was among the early sciences. All rude nations have a pharmacy of their own, equal in general to their wants. Luxury, creating new and more complex diseases, requires a profounder knowledge of medicine, and of the animal economy.

III.

OF THE EGYPTIANS.

1. A great portion of the knowledge and attainments of the ancient nations, and by consequence of those of the moderns, is to be traced to Egypt. The Egyptians instructed

the Greeks; they performed the same office to the Romans; and the two latter have transmitted much of that knowledge to the world of which we are in possession at this day *.

2. The antiquity of this empire, though we give no credit to the chronicles of Manetho, must be allowed to be very great.—The Mosaic writings represent Egypt, about 430 years after the flood, as a flourishing and well-regulated kingdom.—The nature of the country itself affords a presumption of the great antiquity of the empire, and its early civilization.—From the fertilizing effects of the waters of the Nile, it is probable that agriculture would be more early practised there, than in regions less favoured by nature.—The periodical inundatious of the Nile are owing to the vapours of the Mediterranean condensed on the mountains of Ethiopia.

3. The government of Egypt was a hereditary monarchy.—The powers of the Monarch were limited by constitutional laws; yet in many respects his authority was extremely

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* For the supposed origin of Egyptian science, see Part II. Sect. 50.

despotical.—The functions of the Sovereign were partly civil and partly religious.—The King had the chief regulation of all that regarded the worship of the gods; and the priests, considered as his deputies, filled all the offices of state. They were both the legislators and the civil judges; they imposed and levied the taxes, and regulated weights and measures.—The great national tribunal was composed of thirty judges, chosen from the three principal departments of the empire.—The administration of justice was defrayed by the Sovereign, and, as parties were their own advocates, was no burden upon the people.—The penal laws of Egypt were uncommonly severe.—Female chastity was most rigidly protected.—Funeral rites were not conferred but after a scrutiny into the life of the deceased, and by a judicial decree approving of his character. The characters even of the Sovereigns were subjected to this inquiry.

There was an extraordinary regulation in Egypt regarding the borrowing of money. The borrower gave in pledge the body of his father, and was deprived of funeral rites if he failed to redeem it.

Population was encouraged by law; and every man was bound to maintain and educate the children born to him of his slaves.

3. The manners of the Egyptians were very early formed. They had a singular attachment to ancient usages; a dislike to innovation; a jealousy and abhorrence of strangers.

4. They preceded most of the ancient nations in the knowledge of the useful arts, and in the cultivation of the sciences.—Architecture was early brought to great perfection.—Their buildings, the pyramids, obelisks, &c. have, from the mildness of the climate, suffered little injury from time.—Pliny describes the contrivance for transporting the obelisks. —The whole country abounds with the remains of ancient magnificence.—Thebes, in Upper Egypt, was one of the most splendid cities in the universe.

The pyramids are supposed to have been erected about 900 years A. C.—They were probably the sepulchral monuments of the Sovereigns.—The Egyptians believed that death did not separate the soul from the body; and hence their extreme care to preserve the body entire, by embalming, con-

cealing it in caves and catacombs, and guarding it by such stupendous structures.—Mr Bruce supposes the pyramids to be rocks hewn into a pyramidal form, and encrusted, where necessary, with mason-work.

The remains of art in Egypt, though venerable for their great antiquity, are extremely deficient in beauty and elegance.—The Egyptians were ignorant of the construction of an arch.—The remains of painting and sculpture evince but a slender proficiency in those arts.

5. The Egyptians possessed considerable knowledge of geometry, mechanics, and astronomy. They had divided the zodiac into twelve signs; they calculated eclipses; and seem to have had an idea of the motion of the earth.

6. The morality taught by the priests was pure and refined; but it had little influence on the manners of the people.

7. So likewise the theology and secret doctrines of the priests were rational and sublime; but the worship of the people was debased by the most absurd and contemptible superstition.

8. Notwithstanding the early civilization and the great attainments of this people, their national character was extremely low and despicable among the contemporary nations of antiquity. The reason of this is, they were a people who chose to sequester themselves from the rest of mankind; they were not known to other nations by their conquests; they had little connexion with them by commerce; and they had an antipathy to the persons and manners of strangers.

9. There were likewise many circumstances of their own manners which tended to degrade them in the opinion of other nations.—All professions were hereditary in Egypt; and the rank of each was scrupulously settled: The objects of the religious worship were different in different parts of the kingdom; a fertile source of division and controversy: Their particular superstitions were of the most absurd and debasing nature: And the manners of the people were extremely loose and profligate.

IV.

OF THE PHŒNICIANS.

1. The Phoenicians were among the most early civilized nations of the East. We are indebted to them for the invention of writing, and for the first attempts at commercial navigation.—The fragments of Sanchoniatho are the most ancient monuments of writing after the books of Moses.—Sanchoniatho was contemporary with Joshua, about 1440 A. C. and 500 before the cities of Attica were united by Theseus.

2. The Phoenicians, (the Canaanites of Scripture) were a commercial people in the days of Abraham.—In the time of the Hebrew Judges, they had begun to colonise.—Their first settlements were Cyprus and Rhodes: thence they passed into Greece, Sicily, Sardinia, and Spain, and formed establishments likewise on the western coast of Africa.—The Sidonians carried on an extensive commerce at the time of the Trojan war.

V.

THE HISTORY OF GREECE.

1. Greece being indebted for the first rudiments of civilization to the Egyptians and Phoenicians, its history is properly introduced by an account of those more ancient nations.

2. The early antiquities of this country are disguised by fable; but from the time when it becomes important, it has been treated of by eminent writers.

3. The ancient inhabitants of Greece, the Pelasgi, Hiantes, Leleges, were extremely barbarous; but a dawning of civilization arose under the Titans, a Phoenician or Egyptian colony, who settled in the country about the time of Moses.—The Titans gave the Greeks the first ideas of religion, and introduced the worship of their own gods, Saturn, Jupiter, Ceres, &c. Succeeding ages confounded those Titans themselves with the gods, and hence sprung numberless fables.

4. Inachus, the last of the Titans, founded the kingdom of Argos, 1856 A. C.—And

Egialtes, one of his sons, the kingdom of Sicyon.

5. In the following century happened the deluge of Oxyges, 1796 A. C.—Then followed a period of barbarism for above 200 years.

6. Cecrops, the leader of another colony from Egypt, landed in Attica, 1582 A. C. and connecting himself with the last king, succeeded, on his death, to the sovereignty. He built twelve cities, and was eminent both as a lawgiver and politician.

7. The Grecian History derives some authenticity at this period from the Chronicle of Paros, preserved among the Arundelian Marbles at Oxford.—The authority of this chronicle has been questioned of late, and many arguments adduced, presumptive of its being a forgery; but, on a review of the whole controversy, we judge the arguments for its authenticity to preponderate. It fixes the dates of the most remarkable events in the history of Greece, from the time of Cecrops down to the age of Alexander the Great.

8. Cranaus succeeded Cecrops, in whose time happened two remarkable events recorded in the Chronicle of Paros; the judgment of the Areopagus between Mars and Neptune, two princes of Thessaly; and the Deluge of Deucalion.—The court of Areopagus, at Athens, was instituted by Cecrops. The number of its judges varied at different periods, from nine to fifty-one.—The deluge of Deucalion, magnified and disguised by the poets, was probably only a partial inundation.

9. Amphictyon, the cotemporary of Cranaus, if the founder of the Amphictyonic Council, must have possessed extensive views of policy.—This council, from a league of twelve cities, became a representative assembly of the states of Greece, and had the most admirable political effects in uniting the nation, and giving it a common interest.

10. Cadmus, about 1519 A. C. introduced alphabetic writing into Greece, from Phoenicia.—The alphabet then had only sixteen letters; and the mode of writing (termed *Boustrophedon*) was alternately from left to right, and right to left.—From this period the Greeks made rapid advances in civilization.

VI.

REFLECTIONS ON THE FIRST AND RUDEST PERIODS OF THE GRECIAN HISTORY.

1. The country of Greece presents a large, irregular peninsula, intersected by many chains of mountains, separating its different districts, and opposing natural impediments to general intercourse, and therefore to rapid civilization.—The extreme barbarism of the Pelasgi, who are said to have been Cannibals, and ignorant of the use of fire, has its parallel in modern barbarous nations.—There were many circumstances that retarded the progress of the Greeks to refinement. The introduction of a national religion was best fitted to remove these obstacles. Receiving this new system of Theology from strangers, and entertaining at first very confused ideas of it, they would naturally blend its doctrines and worship with the notions of religion which they formerly possessed; and hence we observe only partial coincidences of the Grecian with the Egyptian and Phoeni-

cian mythologies.—It has been a vain and preposterous labour of modern mythological writers, to attempt to trace all the fables of antiquity, and the various systems of Pagan Theology, up to one common source.—The absurdity of this is best shown, by comparing the different and most contradictory solutions of the same fable given by different mythologists; as, for example, Lord Bacon and the Abbé Banier. Some authors, with much indiscretion, have attempted to deduce all the Pagan mythologies from the Holy Scriptures.—Such researches are not only unprofitable, but positively mischievous.

2. Superstition, in the early periods, was a predominant characteristic of the Greeks.—To this age, and to this character of the people, we refer the origin of the Grecian Oracles, and the institution of the Public Games in honour of the Gods.

The desire of penetrating into futurity, and the superstition common to rude nations, gave rise to the Oracles of Delphi, Dodona, &c.

The resort of strangers to these Oracles on particular occasions, led to the celebration of a festival, and to public Games.

The four solemn Games of the Greeks, particularly termed ἱεροὶ, were the Olympic, the Pythian, the Nemean, and the Isthmian. They consisted principally in contests of skill in all the athletic exercises, and the prizes were chiefly honorary marks of distinction.—Archbishop Potter, in his *Archaelogia Graeca*, fully details their particular nature.—These games had excellent political effects, in promoting national union, in diffusing the love of glory, and training the youth to martial exercises. They cherished at once a heroical and a superstitious spirit, which led to the formation of extraordinary and hazardous enterprises.

VII.

EARLY PERIOD OF THE GRECIAN HISTORY.—THE ARGONAUTIC EXPEDITION.—WARS OF THEBES AND OF TROY.

1. The history of Greece, for a period of 300 years preceding the Trojan war, is inter-

mixed with fables; but contains, at the same time, many facts entitled to credit, as authentic. Erectheus, or Erichthonius, either a Greek who had visited Egypt, or the leader of a new Egyptian colony, cultivated the plains of Eleusis, and instituted the Eleusinian mysteries, in imitation of the Egyptian games of Isis. These mysteries were of a religious and moral nature, conveying the doctrines of the unity of God, the immortality of the soul, and a future state of reward and punishment. Cicero speaks of them with high encomium.—But the ceremonies connected with them were childish and ridiculous.

2. Theseus laid the foundation of the grandeur of Attica, by uniting its twelve cities, and giving them a common constitution, 1257 A. C.

3. The first great enterprise of the Greeks was the Argonautic expedition, 1263 A. C. (Usher), and 937 A. C. (Sir I. Newton). This is supposed to have been both a military and a mercantile adventure, and was singularly bold for the times in which it was undertaken. The object was to open the commerce of the

Euxine sea, and to secure some establishments on its coasts.—The astronomer Chiron directed the plan of the voyage, and formed, for the use of the mariners, a scheme of the constellations, fixing with accuracy the solstitial and aequinoctial points.—Sir Isaac Newton has founded his emendation of the ancient chronology, on a calculation of the regular procession of the aequinoxes from this period to the present, as well as on an estimate of the medium length of human generations.

4. The state of the military art at this time in Greece may be estimated from an account of the sieges of Thebes and of Troy.

In these enterprises the arts of attack and defence were very rude and imperfect. The siege was entirely of the nature of blockade, and therefore necessarily of long duration.—A dispute for the divided sovereignty of Thebes between the brothers Eteocles and Polynices, gave rise to the war, which was terminated by single combat, in which both were killed.

5. The sons of the commanders slain in this war renewed the quarrel of their fathers, and

occasioned the war of the *Epigonoi*, a subject on which Homer is said to have written a poem, now lost, equal to the Iliad and Odyssey.

6. The detail of the war of Troy rests chiefly on the authority of Homer, and ought not, in spite of modern scepticism, to be refused, in its principal facts, the credit of a true history.—After a blockade of ten years, Troy was taken, either by storm or surprise, 1184 A. C. and, being set on fire in the night, was burnt to the ground; not a vestige of its ruins existing at the present day. The empire fell from that moment. The Greeks settled a colony near the spot; and the rest of the kingdom was occupied by the Lydians.

7. Military expeditions at this time were carried on only in the spring and summer.—In a tedious siege, the winter was a season of armistice.—The science of military tactics was then utterly unknown, every battle being a multitude of single combats.—The soldier had no pay but his share of the booty, divided by the chiefs.—The weapons of war were the sword, the bow, the javelin, the club, the hatchet, and the sling. A helmet of brass, an

enormous shield, a cuirass, and buskins were the weapons of defence.

VIII.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE GREEK COLONIES.

1. About eighty years after the taking of Troy began the war of the Heraclidae. Hercules, the son of Amphitryon, sovereign of Mycenae, was banished from his country with all his family, while the crown was possessed by an usurper. His descendants, after the period of a century, returned to Peloponnesus, and, subduing all their enemies, took possession of the states of Mycenae, Argos, and Lacedaemon.

2. A long period of civil war and bloodshed succeeded, and Greece, divided among a number of petty tyrants, suffered equally the miseries of oppression and anarchy.

Codrus, king of Athens, showed a singular example of patriotism, in devoting himself to death for his country; yet the Athenians, weary of monarchy, determined to make the

experiment of a popular constitution. Medon, the son of Codrus, was elected chief magistrate, with the title of Archon. This is the commencement of the Athenian republic, about 1068 A. C.

3. It was at this time that the Greeks began to colonize. The oppression which they suffered at home forced many of them to abandon their country, and seek refuge in other lands. —A large body of Æolians from Peloponnesus founded twelve cities in the Lesser Asia, of which Smyrna was the most considerable. A troop of Ionian exiles built Ephesus, Colophon, Clazomene, and other towns; giving to their new settlements the name of their native country Ionia. The Dorians sent off colonies to Italy and Sicily, founding, in the former, Tarentum and Locri, and in the latter, Syracuse and Arigentum. The mother country considered its colonies as emancipated children.—These speedily attained to eminence and splendour, rivalling and surpassing their parent states: And the example of their prosperity, which was attributed to the freedom of their governments, incited the states of Greece, oppressed by a number of petty despots, to put

an end to the regal government, and try the experiment of a popular constitution. Athens and Thebes gave the first examples, which were soon followed by all the rest.

4. These infant republics demanded new laws; and it was necessary that some enlightened citizen should arise, who had discernment to perceive what system of legislation was most adapted to the character of his native state; who had abilities to compile such a system, and sufficient authority with his countrymen to recommend and enforce it. Such men were the Spartan Lycurgus and the Athenian Solon.

IX.

THE REPUBLIC OF SPARTA.

1. The originof this political system has given rise to much ingenious disquisition among the moderns, and affords a remarkable instance of the passion for systematizing. It is a prevailing propensity with modern philosophers,

to reduce every thing to general principles. Man, say they, is always the same animal, and, when placed in similar situations, will always exhibit a similar appearance. His manners, his improvements, the government and laws under which he lives, arise necessarily from the situation in which we find him; and all is the result of a few general laws of nature, which operate universally on the human species. But in the ardour of this passion for generalizing, these philosophers often forget, that it is the knowledge of facts which can alone lead to the discovery of general laws: a knowledge not limited to the history of a single age or nation, but extended to that of the whole species in every age and climate. Antecedently to such knowledge all historical system is mere romance.

2. Of this nature is a late theory of the constitution of Sparta, first started by Mr Browne in his essay on Civil Liberty; and from him adopted by later writers. It thus accounts for the origin of the Spartan constitution*. "The army of the Heraclidae, when

* Logan's Philosophy of History, &c.

" they came to recover the dominion of their " ancestors, was composed of Dorians from " Thessaly, the most barbarous of all the " Greek tribes. The Achaeans, the ancient " inhabitants of Laconia, were compelled to " seek new habitations, while the barbarians " of Thessaly took possession of their coun- " try. Of all the nations which are the sub- " ject of historical record, this people bore the " nearest resemblance to the rude Americans. " An American tribe where a chief presides, " where the council of the aged deliberate, " and the assembly of the people gives their " voice, is on the eve of such a political es- " tablishment as the Spartan constitution." The Dorians or Thessalians, settled in Lacedaemon, manifested, it is said, the same manners with all other nations in a barbarous state. Lycurgus did no more than arrest them in that state, by forming their usages into laws. He checked them at once in the first stage of their improvement. " He put forth " a bold hand to that spring which is in socie- " ty, and stopt its motion."

3. This theory, however ingenious, is confuted by facts. All ancient authors agree,

that Lycurgus operated a total change on the Spartan manners, and on the constitution of his country; while the moderns have discovered that he made no change on either. The most striking features of the manners and constitution of Sparta have not the smallest resemblance to those of any rude nations with which we are acquainted. The communion of slaves and of many other species of property, the right of the state in the children of all the citizens, their common education, the public tables, the equal division of lands, the oath of government between the kings and people, have no parallel in the history of any barbarous nations.

4. The real history of Sparta and its constitution is therefore not to be found in modern theory, but in the writings of the Greek historians, and these are our sole authorities worthy of credit.

After the return of the Heraclidae, Sparta was divided between the two sons of Aristodemus, Eurysthenes and Procles, who jointly reigned; and this double monarchy, transmitted to the descendents of each, continued in the separate branches for near 900 years.

A radical principle of disunion, and consequent anarchy, made the want of constitutional laws be severely felt. Lycurgus, brother of Polydectes, one of the kings of Sparta, a man distinguished alike by his abilities and virtues, was invested, by the concurring voice of the sovereigns and people, with the important duty of reforming and new-modelling the constitution of his country, 884 A. C.

5. Lycurgus instituted a senate, elective, of twenty-eight members; whose office was to preserve a just balance between the power of the kings and that of the people. Nothing could come before the assembly of the people which had not received the previous consent of the senate; and, on the other hand, no judgment of the senate was effectual without the sanction of the people. The kings presided in the senate: They were the generals of the republic; but they could plan no enterprise without the consent of a council of the citizens.

6. Lycurgus bent his attention most particularly to the regulation of manners; and one great principle pervaded his whole system: Luxury is the bane of society.

He divided the territory of the Republic into 39,000 equal portions, among the whole of its free citizens.

He substituted iron money for gold and silver, prohibited the practice of commerce, abolished all useless arts, and allowed even those necessary to life to be practised only by the slaves.

The whole citizens made their principal repast at the public tables. The meals were coarse and parsimonious; the conversation was fitted to improve the youth in virtue, and cultivate the patriotic spirit.

The Spartan education rejected all embellishments of the understanding. It nourished only the severer virtues. It taught the duties of religion, obedience to the laws, respect for parents, reverence for old age, inflexible honour, undaunted courage, contempt of danger and of death:—Above all the love of glory and of their country.

7. But the general excellence of the institutions of Lycurgus was impaired by many blemishes. The manners of the Lacedaemonian women were shamefully loose. They frequented the baths, and fought naked in the

Palaestra promiscuously with the men. Theft was a part of Spartan education. The youth were taught to subdue the feelings of humanity; the slaves were treated with the most barbarous rigour, and often massacred for sport. The institutions of Lycurgus had no other end than to form a nation of soldiers.

8. A faulty part of the constitution of Sparta was the office of the Ephori; magistrates elected by the people, whose power, though in some respects subordinate, was in others paramount to that of the kings and senate.

X.

THE REPUBLIC OF ATHENS.

1. On the abolition of the regal office at Athens, the change of the constitution was more nominal than real. The archonship was, during three centuries, a perpetual and hereditary magistracy. In 754 A. C. this office became decennial. In 648 the archons were annually elected, and were nine in number, with equal authority. Under all these changes,

the state was convulsed, and the condition of the people miserable.

2. Draco, elevated to the archonship 624 A. C. projected a reform in the constitution of his country, and thought to repress disorders by the extreme severity of penal laws. But his talents were unequal to the task he had undertaken.

3. Solon, an illustrious Athenian, of the race of Codrus, attained the dignity of archon 594 A. C. and was entrusted with the care of framing for his country a new form of government, and a new system of laws. He possessed extensive knowledge, but wanted that intrepidity of mind which is necessary to the character of a great statesman. His disposition was mild and temporising; and without attempting to reform the manners of his countrymen, he accommodated his system to their prevailing habits and passions.

4. The people claimed the sovereign power, and they received it: the rich demanded offices and dignities: the system of Solon accommodated them to the utmost of their wishes. He divided the citizens into four classes, according to the measure of their wealth. To

the three first, the richer citizens, belonged all the offices of the commonwealth. The fourth, the poorer class, more numerous than all the other three, had an equal right of suffrage with them in the public assembly, where all laws were framed, and measures of state decreed. Consequently the weight of the latter decided every question.

5. To regulate in some degree the proceedings of those assemblies, and balance the weight of the popular interest, Solon instituted a senate of 400 members, (afterwards enlarged to 500 and 600), with whom it was necessary that every measure should originate before it became the subject of discussion in the assembly of the people.

6. To the court of Areopagus he committed the guardianship of the laws, and the power of enforcing them, with the supreme administration of justice. To this tribunal belonged likewise the custody of the treasures of the state, the care of religion, and a tutorial power over all the youth of the republic. The number of its judges was various at different periods, and the most immaculate puri-

ty of character was essential to that high office.

7. The authority of the senate and Areopagus imposed some check on the popular assemblies; but as these possessed the ultimate right of decision, it was always in the power of ambitious demagogues to sway them to the worst of purposes. Continual factions divided the people, and corruption pervaded every department of the state. The public measures, the result of the interested schemes of individuals, were often equally absurd as they were profligate. Athens often saw her best patriots, the wisest and most virtuous of her citizens, shamefully sacrificed to the most depraved and most abandoned.

8. The particular laws of the Athenian state are more deserving of encomium than its form of government. The laws relating to debtors were mild and equitable, as were those which regulated the treatment of slaves.—But the vassalage of women, or their absolute subjection to the controul of their nearest relations, approached too near to a state of servitude. The proposer of a law found on experience impolitic, was liable to punishment; an en-

actment apparently rigorous, but probably necessary in a popular government.

9. One most iniquitous and absurd peculiarity of the Athenian, and some other governments of Greece, was the practice of the *Ostracism*, a ballot of all the citizens, in which each wrote down the name of the person in his opinion most obnoxious to censure; and he who was thus marked out by the greatest number of voices, though unimpeached of any crime, was banished for ten years from his country. This barbarous and disgraceful institution, ever capable of the grossest abuse, and generally subservient to the worst of purposes, has stained the character of Athens with many flagrant instances of public ingratitude.

10. The manners of the Athenians formed the most striking contrast to those of the Lacedaemonians. The arts were, at Athens, in the highest esteem; the Lacedaemonians despised the arts, and all who cultivated them. At Athens, peace was the natural state of the republic, and the refined enjoyment of life the aim of all its subjects; Sparta was entirely a military establishment: her subjects, when un-

engaged in war, were totally unoccupied. Luxury was the character of the Athenian, as frugality of the Spartan. They were equally jealous of their liberty, and equally brave in war. The courage of the Spartan sprung from constitutional ferocity, that of the Athenian from the principle of honour.

11. The Spartan government had acquired solidity, while all the rest of Greece was torn by domestic dissensions.—Athens, a prey to faction and civil disorder, surrendered her liberties to Pisistratus, 550 A. C.; who, after various turns of fortune, established himself firmly in the sovereignty, exercised a splendid and munificent dominion, completely gained the affections of the people, and transmitted a peaceable crown to his sons Hippias and Hipparchus.

12. Hermodias and Aristogiton undertook to restore the democracy; and succeeded in the attempt. Hipparchus was put to death; and, Hippias, dethroned, solicited a foreign aid to replace him in the sovereignty. Darius, the son of Hystaspes, meditated at this time the conquest of Greece. Hippias took advantage of the views of an enemy against his

native country, and Greece was now involved in a war with Persia.

XI.

OF THE STATE OF THE PERSIAN EMPIRE, AND ITS HISTORY DOWN TO THE WAR WITH GREECE.

1. The first Empire of the Assyrians ended under Sardanapalus, and three monarchies arose from its ruins, Nineveh, Babylon, and the kingdom of the Medes.

2. The history of Babylon and of Nineveh is very imperfectly known. The Medes, hitherto independent tribes, were united under a monarchy by Dejoces. His son Phraortes conquered Persia, but was himself vanquished by Nabuchodonoser I. king of Assyria, and put to death. Nabuchodonoser II. led the Jews into captivity, took Jerusalem and Tyre, and subdued Egypt.

3. The history of Cyrus is involved in great uncertainty; nor is it possible to reconcile or apply to one man, the different accounts giv-

en of him by Herodotus, Ctesias, and Xenophon. Succeeding his father Cambyses in the throne of Persia, and his uncle Cyaxares in the sovereignty of the Medes, he united these empires, vanquished the Babylonians and Lydians, subjected the greatest part of the Lesser Asia, and made himself master of Syria and Arabia.

4. He was succeeded by his son Cambyses, distinguished only as a tyrant and a madman.

5. After the death of Cambyses, Darius, the son of Hystaspes, was elected sovereign of Persia, a prince of great enterprise and ambition. Unfortunate in a rash expedition against the Scythians, he projected and achieved the conquest of India. Inflated with success, he now meditated an invasion of Greece, and cordially entered into the views of Hippias, who sought, by his means, to regain the sovereignty of Athens.

6. *Government, Manners, Laws, &c. of the Ancient Persians.*—The government of Persia was an absolute monarchy; the will of the sovereign being subject to no controul, and his person revered as sacred; yet the education bestowed by those monarchs on their

children, was calculated to inspire every valuable quality of a sovereign.

The ancient Persians in general bestowed the utmost attention on the education of youth. Children at the age of five were committed to the care of the Magi, for the improvement of their mind and morals. They were trained at the same time to every manly exercise. The sacred books of the *Zendavesta* promised to every worthy parent the imputed merit and reward of all the good actions of his children.

7. Luxurious as they were in after times, the early Persians were distinguished for their temperance, bravery, and virtuous simplicity of manners. They were all trained to the use of arms, and displayed great intrepidity in war. The custom of the women following their armies to the field, erroneously attributed to effeminacy, was a remnant of barbarous manners.

8. The kingdom of Persia was divided into several provinces, each under a governor or satrap, who was accountable to the sovereign for the whole of his conduct. The prince, at stated times, visited his provinces in per-

son, correcting all abuses, easing the burdens of the oppressed, and encouraging agriculture and the practice of the useful arts.—The laws of Persia were mild and equitable, and the utmost purity was observed in the administration of justice.

9. The religion of the ancient Persians is of great antiquity. It is conjectured that there were two Zoroasters; the first the founder of this ancient religion, and of whom are recorded miracles and prophecies; the second, a reformer of that religion, cotemporary with Darius the son of Hystaspes. The *Zendavesta*, or sacred book, compiled by the former, was improved and purified by the latter. It has been lately translated into French by M. Anquetil, and appears to contain, amidst a mass of absurdity, some sublime truths, and excellent precepts of morality. The theology of the Zendavesta is founded on the doctrine of two opposite principles, a good and an evil, Ormusd and Ahriman, eternal beings, who divide between them the government of the universe, and whose warfare must endure till the end of 12,000 years, when the good will finally prevail over the evil. A separation will ensue of the votaries of each: the just shall

be admitted to the immediate enjoyment of Paradise: the wicked, after a limited purification by fire, shall ultimately be allowed to partake in the blessings of eternity. Ormusd is to be adored through the medium of his greatest works, the sun, moon, and stars. The fire, the symbol of the sun, the air, the earth, the water, have their subordinate worhsip.

The morality of the *Zendavesta* is best known from its abridgment, the *Sadder*, compiled about three centuries ago by the modern Guebres. It inculcates a chastened species of Epecurism; allowing a free indulgence of the passions, while consistent with the welfare of society. It prohibits equally intemperance and ascetic mortification. It recommends, as precepts of religion, the cultivation of the earth, the planting of fruit-trees, the destruction of noxious animals, the bringing water to a barren land.

10. Such were the ancient Persians. But their character had undergone a great change before the period of the war with Greece. At this time they were a degenerate and corrupted people. Athens had recently thrown off the yoke of the Pisistratidae, and highly valued her new liberty. Sparta, in the ar-

dour of patriotism, forgot all jealousy of her rival state, and cordially united in the defence of their common country. The Persians, in this contest, had no other advantage than that of numbers, an unequal match for superior heroism and military skill.

XII.

THE WAR BETWEEN GREECE AND PERSIA.

1. The ambition of Darius, the son of Hystaspes, heightened by the passion of revenge, gave rise to the project of that monarch for the invasion of Greece. The Athenians had aided the people of Ionia in an attempt to throw off the yoke of Persia, and burnt and ravaged Sardis, the capital of Lydia. Darius speedily reduced the Ionians to submission, and then turned his arms against the Greeks, their allies; the exile Hippias eagerly prompting the expedition.

2. After an insolent demand of submission, which the Greeks scornfully refused, Darius began a hostile attack both by sea and land.

The first Persian fleet was wrecked in doubling the promontory of Athos; a second, of 600 sail, ravaged the Grecian islands; while an immense army landing in Euboea, poured down with impetuosity on Attica. The Athenians met them on the plain of Morathon, and, headed by Miltiades, defeated them with prodigious slaughter, 490 A. C. The loss of the Persians in this battle was 6300, that of the Athenians 190.

3. The merit of Miltiades, signally displayed in this great battle, was repaid by his country with the most shocking ingratitude. Accused of treason for an unsuccessful attack on the isle of Paros, his sentence of death was commuted into a fine of fifty talents; which being nnable to pay, he was thrown into prison, and there died of his wounds.

4. The glory of ungrateful Athens was yet nobly sustained in the Persian war by Themistocles and Aristides. Darius dying, was succeeded by his son Xerxes, the heir of his father's ambition, but not of his abilities. He armed, as is said, five millions of men, for the conquest of Greece; 1200 ships of war, and 3000 ships of burden. Landing in Thes-

saly, he proceeded, by rapid marches, to Thermopylae, a narrow defile on the *Sinus Maliacus*. The Athenians and Spartans, aided only by the Thespians, Plataeans, and Eginetes, determined to withstand the invader. Leonidas, king of Sparta, was chosen to defend this important pass with 6000 men. Xerxes, after a weak attempt to corrupt him, imperiously summoned him to lay down his arms. *Let him come*, said Leonidas, *and take them.* For two days the Persians in vain strove to force their way, and were repeatedly repulsed with great slaughter. An unguarded track being at length discovered, the defence of the pass became a fruitless attempt on the part of the Greeks. Leonidas, foreseeing certain destruction, commanded all to retire but 300 of his countrymen. His motive was to give the Persians a just idea of the spirit of that foe whom they had to encounter. He, with his brave Spartans, were all cut off to a man, 480 A. C. A monument, erected on the spot, bore this noble inscription, written by Simonides: *O stranger, tell it at Lacedaemon, that we died here in obedience to her laws.*

5. The Persians poured down upon Attica. The inhabitants of Athens, after conveying their women and children to the islands for security, betook themselves to their fleet, abandoning the city, which the Persians pillaged and burnt. The fleet of the Greeks, consisting of 380 sail, was attacked in the straits of Salamis by that of the Persians, amounting to 1200 ships. Xerxes himself beheld from an eminence on the coast the total discomfiture of his squadron. He then fled with precipitation across the Hellespont. A second overthrow awaited his army by land: for Mardonius, at the head of 300,000 Persians, was totally defeated at Plataea by the combined army of the Athenians and Lacedaemonians, 479 A. C. On the same day the Greeks engaged and destroyed the remains of the Persian fleet at Mycale. From that day the ambitious schemes of Xerxes were at an end; and his inglorious life was soon after terminated by assassination. He was succeeded in the throne of Persia by his son Artaxerxes Longimanus, 464 A. C.

6. At this time the national character of the Greeks was at its highest elevation. The

common danger had annihilated all partial jealousies between the states, and given them union as a nation. But with the cessation of danger those jealousies recommenced. Sparta meanly opposed the rebuilding of deserted Athens.—Athens rising again into splendour, saw with pleasure the depopulation of Sparta by an earthquake, and hesitated to give her aid in that juncture of calamity against a rebellion of her slaves.

7. Cimon, the son of Miltiades, after expelling the Persians from Thrace, attacked and destroyed their fleet on the coast of Pamphylia, and landing his troops, gained a signal victory over their army the same day.—Supplanted in the public favour by the arts of his rival Pericles, he suffered a temporary exile; to return only with higher popularity, and to signalize himself still more in the service of his ungrateful country. He attacked and totally destroyed the Persian fleet of 300 sail; and landing in Cilicia, completed his triumph, by defeating 300,000 Persians under Megabyzes, 460 A. C. Artaxerxes now had the prudence to sue for peace, which was granted by the Greeks on terms most honour-

able to the nation. They stipulated for the freedom of all the Grecian cities of Asia, and that the fleets of Persia should not approach their coasts from the Euxine to the extreme boundary of Pamphylia. The last fifty years were the period of the highest glory of the Greeks; and they owed their prosperity entirely to their union. The peace with Persia, dissolving that connection, brought back the jealousies between the predominant states, the intestine disorders of each, and the national weakness.

8. The martial and the patriotic spirit began visibly to decline in Athens. An acquaintance with Asia, and an importation of her wealth, introduced a relish for Asiatic manners and luxuries. With the Athenians, however, this luxurious spirit was under the guidance of taste and genius. It led to the cultivation of the finer arts; and the age of Pericles, though the national glory was in its wane, is the aera of the highest internal splendour and magnificence of Greece.

XIII.

AGE OF PERICLES.

1. REPUBLICS, equally with monarchies, are generally regulated by a single will: only, in the former there is a more frequent change of masters.—Pericles ruled Athens with little less than arbitrary sway: and Athens pretended at this time to the command of Greece. She held the allied states in the most absolute subjection, and lavished their subsidies, bestowed for the national defence, in magnificent buildings, games, and festivals, for her own citizens. The tributary states loudly complained, but durst not call this domineering republic to account; and the war of Peleponnesus, dividing the nation into two great parties, bound the lesser cities to the strictest subordination on the predominant powers.

2. The state of Corinth had been included in the last treaty between Athens and Sparta. The Corinthians waging war with the people

of Corcyra, an ancient colony of their own, both parties solicited the aid of Athens, who took part with the latter; a measure which the Corinthians complained of, not only as an infraction of the treaty with Sparta, but as a breach of a general rule of the national policy, that no foreign power should interfere in the disputes between a colony and its parent state. War was proclaimed on this ground between Athens and Lacedaemon, each supported by its respective allies. The detail of the war, which continued for twenty-eight years, with various and alternate success, is to be found in Thucydides. Pericles died before its termination; a splendid ornament of his country, but a corrupter of her manners. Alcibiades ran a similar career, with equal talents, equal ambition, and still less purity of moral principle. In the interval of a truce with Sparta, he inconsiderately projected the conquest of Sicily; and failing in the attempt, was, on his return to Athens, condemned to death for treason. He hesitated not to wreck his vengeance against his country, by selling his services, first to Sparta, and afterwards to Persia. Finally, he purchased his peace with

his country, by betraying the power which protected him, and returned to Athens the idol of a populace as versatile as worthless.

3. A fatal defeat of the Athenian fleet at Ægos Potamos, by Lysander, reduced Athens to the last extremity; and the Lacedaemonians blockaded the city by land and sea. The war was ended by the absolute submission of the Athenians, who agreed to demolish their port, to limit their fleet to twelve ships, and undertake for the future no military enterprise, but under command of the Lacedaemonians, 405 A. C.

4. It is to the same Lysander, who terminated the Peloponnesian war so gloriously for Lacedaemon, that history ascribes the first great breach of the constitution of his country, by the introduction of gold into that republic.—Lysander, after the reduction of Athens, abolished the popular government in that state, and substituted in its place thirty tyrants, whose power was absolute. The most eminent of the citizens fled from their country; but a band of patriots, headed by Thrasybulus, attacked, vanquished, and expelled

the usurpers, and once more re-established the democracy.

5. One event which happened at this time reflected more disgrace on the Athenian name than their national humiliation: This was the persecution and death of Socrates, a philosopher who was himself the pattern of every virtue which he taught. The sophists, whose futile logic he derided and exposed, represented him as an enemy to the religion of his country, because, without regard to the popular superstitions, he led the mind to the knowledge of a Supreme Being, the Creator and Ruler of the Universe; and the belief of a future state of retribution. His defence he made himself with the manly fortitude of conscious innocence; but in vain: his judges were his personal enemies, and he was condemned to die by poison, 397 A. C. (See section XXIII. § 5.)

6. On the death of Darius Nothus, his eldest son Artaxerxes Mnemon succeeded to the empire of Persia. His younger brother Cyrus formed the project of dethroning him, and with the aid of 13,000 Greeks, engaged him near Babylon; but was defeated and slain;

a just reward of his most culpable enterprise. The remainder of the Grecian army, to the amount of 10,000, under the command of Xenophon, made a most amazing retreat, traversing a hostile country of 1600 miles in extent, from Babylon to the banks of the Euxine. Xenophon has beautifully written the history of this expedition; but has painted the character of Cyrus in too flattering colours, and without the smallest censure of his criminal ambition.

7. The Greek cities of Asia had taken part with Cyrus. Sparta was engaged to defend her countrymen, and consequently was involved in a war with Persia. Had Athens added her strength, the Greeks might have once more defied the power of Asia; but jealousy kept the states divided, and even hostile to each other; and the gold of Artaxerxes excited a general league in Greece against Lacedaemon. Agesilaus, king of Sparta, sustained for a considerable time the honour of his country, and won some important battles in Asia; but others were lost in Greece; and a naval defeat near Cnidos utterly destroyed the Lacedaemonian fleet. Finally, to escape total destruc-

tion, the Spartans sued for peace, and obtained it, by the sacrifice to Persia of all the Asiatic colonies, 387 A. C. Artaxerxes further demanded, and obtained for his allies the Athenians, the islands of Scyros, Lemnos, and Imbros. A disgraceful treaty; a mortifying picture of the humiliation of the Greeks.

XIV.

THE REPUBLIC OF THEBES.

1. While Athens and Sparta were thus visibly tending to decline, the Theban Republic emerged from obscurity, and rose for a time to a degree of splendour eclipsing all its cotemporary states. The republic was divided by faction, one party supporting its ancient democracy, and the other aiming at the establishment of an oligarchy. The latter courted the aid of the Spartans, who embraced that occasion to take possession of the citadel. Four hundred of the exiled Thebans fled

for protection to Athens. Among these was Pelopidas, who planned and accomplished the deliverance of his country. Disguising himself and twelve of his friends as peasants, he entered Thebes in the evening, and joining a patriotic party of the citizens, they surprised the heads of the usurpation amid the tumult of a feast, and put them all to death. Epaminondas, the friend of Pelopidas, shared with him in the glory of this enterprise; and attacking, with the aid of 5000 Athenians, the Lacedaemonian garrison, drove them entirely out of the Theban territory.

2. A war necessarily ensued between Thebes and Sparta, in which the former had the aid of Athens. This, however, was but for a season. Thebes singly opposed the power of Sparta, and the league of Greece; but Epaminondas and Pelopidas were her generals. The latter, amidst a career of glory, perished in an expedition against the tyrant of Pheraea. Epaminondas, triumphant at Leuctra and Mantinea, fell in that last engagement, and with him expired the glory of his country, 363 A. C. Athens and Sparta were humbled at the battle of Mantinea. Thebes was vic-

torious; but she was undone by the death of Epaminondas. All parties were tired of the war; and Artaxerxes, more powerful among those infatuated states than in his own dominions, dictated the terms of the treaty. It was stipulated, that each power should retain what it possessed; and that the lesser states now free from the yoke of the greater, should remain so.

XV.

PHILIP OF MACEDON.

1. GREECE was now in the most abject situation: the spirit of patriotism appeared utterly extinct, and military glory at an end. Athens seemed to have lost all ambition: the pleasures of luxury had entirely supplanted heroic virtue: poets, musicians, sculptors, and comedians were now the only great men of Attica. Sparta, no less changed from the simplicity of her ancient manners, and her

power abridged by the new independency of the states of Peloponnesus, was in no capacity to attempt a recovery of her former greatness. In this situation, Philip of Macedon formed the ambitious project of bringing under his dominion the whole of Greece.

2. He had mounted the throne of Macedon by popular choice, in violation of the natural right of the nearer heirs to the crown; and he secured his power by the success of his arms against the Illyrians, Paeonians, and Athenians, who espoused the interest of his competitors. Uniting to great military talents the most consummate artifice and address, he had his pensionaries in all the states of Greece, who directed to his advantage every public measure. The miserable policy of these states, embroiled in perpetual quarrels, co-operated with his designs. A sacrilegious attempt of the Phocians to plunder the temple of Delphos, excited the *Sacred War*, in which almost all the republics took a part; and Philip's aid being courted by the Thebans and Thessalians, he began hostilities by invading Phocis, the key to the territory of Attica. Æschines the orator, bribed to his

interest, attempted to quiet the alarms of the Athenians, by ascribing to Philip a design only of punishing sacrilege, and vindicating the cause of Apollo. Demosthenes, with true patriotism, exposed the artful designs of the invader, and with the most animated eloquence roused his countrymen to a vigorous effort for the preservation of their natural liberties. But the event was unsuccessful. The battle of Cheronaea, fought 337 A. C. decided the fate of Greece, and subjected all her states to the dominion of the King of Macedon. But it was not his policy to treat them as a conquered people. They retained their separate and independent governments, while he controuled and directed all the national measures. Convoking a general council of the states, Philip was appointed commander in chief of the forces of the nation; and he laid before them his project for the conquest of Persia, appointing each Republic to furnish its proportional subsidies. On the eve of this great enterprise, Philip was assassinated by Pausanius, a captain of his guards, in revenge of a private injury, 336 A. C. The Athenians, on the death of Philip, meanly expressed the

most tumultuous joy, in the hope of a recovery of their liberty; but this visionary prospect was never realised. The spirit of the nation was gone; and in their subsequent revolutions they only changed their masters.

XVI.

ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

1. ALEXANDER, the son of Philip, succeeded, at the age of twenty, to the throne of Macedon, and, after a few successful battles against the revolted states, to the command of Greece. Assembling the deputies of the nation at Corinth, he communicated to them his resolution of prosecuting the designs of his father for the conquest of Persia.

2. With an army of 30,000 foot, and 5000 horse, the sum of 70 talents, and provisions only for a single month, he crossed the Hellespont, and, in traversing Phrygia, visited the tomb of Achilles. Darius Codomannus, resolved to crush at once this inconsiderate youth, met him on the banks of the Granicus

with 100,000 foot and 10,000 horse. The Greeks swam the river, their king leading the van, and attacking the astonished Persians, left 20,000 dead upon the field, and put to flight their whole army. Drawing from his first success a presage of continued victory, Alexander now sent home his fleet, leaving to his army the sole alternative, that they must subdue Asia or perish. Prosecuting their course for some time without resistance, the Greeks were attacked by the Persians in a narrow valley of Cilicia near the town of Issus. The Persian host amounted to 400,000; but their situation was such that only a small part could come into action, and they were defeated with prodigious slaughter. The loss of the Persians in this battle was 110,000; that of the Greeks (according to Q. Curtius) only 450.

3. The history of Alexander by Quintus Curtius, though a most elegant composition, is extremely suspicious on the score of authentic information. Arrian is the best authority.

4. The generosity of Alexander was displayed after the battle of Issus, in his atten-

tion to his noble prisoners, the mother, the wife, and family of Darius. To the credit of Alexander, it must be owned that humanity, however overpowered, and at times extinguished by his passions, certainly formed a part of his natural character.

5. The consequence of the battle of Issus was the submission of all Syria. Damascus, where Darius had deposited his chief treasures, was betrayed and given up by its governor. The Phoenicians were pleased to see themselves thus avenged for the oppression they had suffered under the yoke of Persia.

6. Alexander had hitherto borne his good fortune with moderation. *Felix*, says Curtius, *si hac continentia ad ultimum vitae perseverare potuisset; sed nondum Fortuna se animo ejus infuderat.* He directed his course towards Tyre, and desired admittance to perform a sacrifice to Hercules. The Tyrians shut their gates, and maintained for seven months a noble defence. The city was at length taken by storm, and the victor glutted his revenge by the inhuman massacre of 8000 of the inhabitants. The fate of Gaza, gloriously defended by Betis, was equally deplorable to its citizens, and more

disgraceful to the conqueror. 10,000 of the former were sold into slavery, and its brave defender dragged at the wheels of the victor's chariot: *Gloriante rege, Achillem, a quo genus ipse deduceret, imitatum se esse, poena in hostem capienda.* Curt.

7. The taking of Gaza opened Egypt to Alexander, and the whole country submitted without opposition. The course he now pursued demonstrated, that in his conquests he followed no determined plan. Amidst the most incredible fatigues, he led his army through the deserts of Lybia, to visit the temple of his father *Jupiter Ammon.* On his return he built Alexandria, at the mouth of the Nile, afterwards the capital of the Lower Egypt, and one of the most flourishing cities in the world. Twenty other cities of the same name were reared by him in the course of his conquests. It is such works as these that justly entitle the Macedonian to the epithet of Great. By rearing in the midst of deserts those nurseries of population and of industry, he repaired the waste and havoc of his conquests. But for those monuments of his glory, he would have merited no other epithet

than that assigned him by the Brahmins of India, *The Mighty Murderer.*

8. Returning from Egypt, Alexander traversed Assyria, and was met at Arbela by Darius, at the head of 700,000 men. The Persians had proffered peace, consenting to yield the whole country from the Euphrates to the Hellespont, to give Alexander his daughter in marriage, and the immense sum of 10,000 talents. But these terms were haughtily rejected, and peace refused, but upon the unqualified submission of his enemy. The Persians were defeated at Arbela, with the loss of 300,000 men. Darius fled from province to province. At length betrayed by Bessus, one of his own satraps, he was cruelly murdered; and the Persian empire, which had subsisted for 206 years from the time of Cyrus the Great, submitted to the conqueror, 330 A. C.

9. Alexander now projected the conquest of India, firmly persuaded that the Gods had decreed him the sovereignty of the whole habitable globe. He penetrated to the Ganges, and would have proceeded to the Eastern Ocean, had the spirit of his army kept pace

with his ambition. But his troops, seeing no end to their toils, refused to proceed. He returned to the Indus, from whence sending round his fleet to the Persian Gulph under Nearchus, he marched his army across the desert to Persepolis.

10. Indignant that he had found a limit to his conquests, he abandoned himself to every excess of luxury and debauchery. The arrogance of his nature, and the ardour of his passions, heightened by continual intemperance, broke out into the most outrageous excesses of cruelty, for which, in the few intervals of sober reflection, his ingenuous mind suffered the keenest remorse. From Persepolis he returned to Babylon, and there died in a fit of debauch, in the thirty-third year of his age, and thirteenth of his reign, 324 A. C.

11. Of the character of Alexander the most opposite and contradictory estimates have been formed. While by some he is esteemed nothing better than a fortunate madman, he is by others celebrated for the grandeur, wisdom, and solidity of his political views. Truth is rarely to be found in extreme censure or ap-

plause. We may allow to Alexander the spirit and the talents of a great military genius, without combining with these the sober plans of a profound politician. In a moral view of his character, we see an excellent and ingenious nature corrupted at length by an unvarying current of success, and a striking example of the fatal violence of the passions, when eminence of fortune removes all restraint, and flattery stimulates to their uncontrouled indulgence.

XVII.

SUCCESSORS OF ALEXANDER.

1. ALEXANDER, on his deathbed, named no successor, but gave his ring to Perdiccas, one of his officers. When his courtiers asked him to whom he wished the empire to devolve upon his death, he replied, "To the most worthy;" and he is said to have added, that he foresaw this legacy would prepare for him very extraordinary funeral rites; a predic tion which was fully verified.

2. Perdiccas, sensible that his pretensions would not justify a direct assumption of the government of this vast empire, brought about a division of the whole among thirty-three of the principal officers: and trusting to their inevitable dissensions, he proposed by that means to reduce all of them under his own authority. Hence arose a series of wars and intrigues, of which the detail is barren both of amusement and useful information. It is sufficient to say, that their consequence was a total extirpation of the family of Alexander, and a new partition of the empire into four great monarchies, the shares of Ptolemy, Lysimachus, Cassander, and Seleucus: Of these the most powerful were that of Syria under Seleucus and his descendants, and that of Egypt under the Ptolemies.

"We cannot (says Condillac) fix our attention on the history of the successors of Alexander, though a great theatre is opened to our view, a variety of scenes, and multiplied catastrophes. A picture is often displeasing from the very circumstance of its greatness. We lose the connection of its parts, because the eye cannot take them

" in at once. Still less will a large picture " give us pleasure, if every part of it presents " a different scene, each unconnected with " the other." Such is the history of the successors of Alexander.

XVIII.

FALL AND CONQUEST OF GREECE.

1. Nor is the history of Greece from the period of the death of Alexander any longer an interesting or pleasing object of contemplation. Demosthenes once more made a noble attempt to vindicate the national freedom, and to rouse his countrymen, the Athenians, to shake off the yoke of Macedon. But it was too late. The pacific counsels of Phocion suited better the languid spirit of this once illustrious people.

2. The history of the different republics present from this time nothing but a disgusting series of uninteresting revolutions; with the exception only of that last effort made by the Achaean states to revive the expiring liberty

of their country. The republic of Achaia was a league of a few of the smaller states to vindicate their freedom against the domineering spirit of the greater. They committed the government of the league to Aratus of Sicyon, with the title of Praetor, a young man of high ambition, who immediately conceived the more extensive project of rescuing the whole of Greece from the dominion of Macedon. But the jealousy of the greater states rendered this scheme abortive. Sparta refused to range herself under the guidance of the Praeter of Achaia: and Aratus, forgetting his patriotic designs, sought only now to wreck his vengeance against the Lacedaemonians. For this purpose, with the most inconsistent policy, he courted the aid even of the Macedonians; the very tyrants who had enslaved his country.

3. The period was now come for the intervention of a foreign power, which was to reduce all under its wide-spreading dominion. The Romans were at this time the most powerful of all the cotemporary nations. The people of Etolia, attacked by the Macedonians, with a rash policy, besought the aid of the Romans, who, eager to add to their dominion this de-

voted country, cheerfully obeyed the summons, and speedily accomplished the reduction of Macedonia. Perseus, its last sovereign, was led captive to Rome, and graced the triumph of Paulus Æmilius, 167 A. C. From that period, the Romans were hastily advancing to the dominion of all Greece; a progress, in which their art was more conspicuous than their virtue. They gained their end by fostering dissensions between the states, which they directed to their own advantage; corrupting their principal citizens, and using, in fine, every art of the most insiduous policy. A pretext was only wanting to unsheath the sword; and this was furnished by the Achaean states, who insulted the deputies of imperial Rome. This drew on them at once the thunder of the Roman arms: Metellus marched his legions into Greece, gave them battle, and entirely defeated them. Mummius the consul terminated the work, and made an easy conquest of the whole of Greece, which from that period became a Roman province, under the name of Achaia, 146 A. C.

4. Rome had acquired from her conquests a flood of wealth, and began now to manifest a

taste for luxury and a spirit of refinement. In these points Greece was to her conquerors an instructor and a model:

> Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit, et artes
> Intulit agresti Latio.———

Hence, even though vanquished, she was regarded with a species of respect by her ruder masters.

XIX.

POLITICAL REFLECTIONS ARISING FROM THE HISTORY OF THE STATES OF GREECE.

1. The revolutions which the states of Greece underwent, and the situations into which they were thrown by their connection and differences with each other, and their wars with foreign nations, were so various, that their history is a school of instruction in political science. The surest test of the truth or falsehood of abstract principles of politics,

is their application to actual experience and to the history of nations.

2. The oppression which the states of Greece suffered under their ancient despots, who were subject to no constitutional controul, was a most justifiable motive for their establishing a new form of government, which promised them the enjoyment of greater political freedom. We believe too, that those new forms of government were framed by their virtuous legislators in the true spirit of patriotism. But as to the real merits of those political fabrics, it is certain that they were very far from corresponding in practice with what was expected from them in theory. We seek in vain, either in the history of Athens or Lacedaemon, for the beautiful idea of a well-ordered common-wealth. The revolutions of government which they were ever experiencing, the eternal factions with which they were embroiled, plainly demonstrate that there was a radical defect in the structure of the machine, which precluded the possibility of regular motion. The condition of the people under those governments was such as partook more of servitude and oppression

than that of the subjects of the most despotic monarchies. The slaves formed the actual majority of the inhabitants in all the states of Greece. To these, the free citizens were rigorous bond-masters: and bondage being a consequence of the contraction of debts even by a free man, a great proportion even of these were subject so the tyrannical controul of their fellow-citizens. Nor were their richer classes in the actual enjoyment of independence. They were perpetually divided into factions, which servilely ranked themselves under the banners of the contending chiefs of the republic. Those parties were kept together solely by corruption. The whole was therefore a system of servility and debasement of spirit, which left nothing of a free or ingenuous nature in the condition of individuals, nor any thing that could furnish encomium to a real advocate for the dignity of human nature.

Such was the condition of the chief republics of antiquity. Their governments promised in theory, what they never conferred in practice, the political happiness of the citizens.

3. "In democracy (says Dr Fergusson), "men must love equality; they must respect "the rights of their fellow citizens: they "must be satisfied with that degree of con- "sideration they can procure by their abili- "ties fairly measured against those of an op- "ponent: they must labour for the public "without hope of profit; they must reject "every attempt to create a personal depend- "ence."—This is the picture of a republic in theory. If we reverse this picture in every single particular, and take its direct opposite, we shall have the true portrait of a republican government in practice.

4. It is the fundamental theory of Montesquieu's *Spirit of Laws*, that the three distinct forms of government, the monarchical, despotical, and republican, are influenced by the three separate principles of honour, fear, and virtue; and this theory is the foundation on which the author builds a great part of his political doctrines. That each of these principles is exclusively essential to its respective form of government, but unnecessary and even prejudicial in the others, is a position contrary both to reason and to truth. No form of

government can subsist where every one of those principles has not its operation. The admission of such a theory leads to the most mischievous conclusions; as for example, that in monarchies the state dispenses with virtue in its officers and magistrates; that public employments ought to be venal; and that crimes, if kept secret, are of no consequence.

5. It is only in the infant periods of the Grecian history, that we are to look for those splendid examples of patriotism and heroic virtue, which the ardent mind of uncorrupted youth will ever delight to contemplate. The most remarkable circumstance which strikes us on comparing the latter with the more early periods of the history of the Greeks, is the total change in the genius and spirit of the people. The ardour of patriotism, the thirst of military glory, the enthusiasm of liberty, decline with the rising grandeur and opulence of the nation: and an enthusiasm succeeds of another species, and far less worthy in its aim; an admiration of the fine arts, a violent passion for the objects of taste, and for the refinements of luxury.—This leads us to consider Greece in the light in which, after the loss

of her liberty, she still continued to attract the admiration of other nations.

XX.

STATE OF THE ARTS IN GREECE.

1. It is not among the Greeks that we are to look for the greatest improvements in the useful and necessary arts of life. In agriculture, manufactures, commerce, they never were greatly distinguished.—But in those which are termed the Fine Arts, Greece surpassed all the cotemporary nations: and the monuments of these which yet remain, are the models of imitation, and the confessed standard of excellence, in the judgment of the most polished nations of modern times.

2. After the defeat of Xerxes, the active spirit of the Athenians, which would have otherwise languished for want of an object, taking a new direction from luxury, displayed itself signally in all the works of taste in the fine arts. The administration of Pericles

was the aera of luxury and splendour. The arts broke out at once with surprising lustre, and architecture, sculpture, and painting, were carried to the summit of perfection. This golden age of the arts in Greece endured for about a century, till after the death of Alexander the Great.

3. The Greeks were the parents of that system of architecture which is universally allowed to be the most perfect.

The Greek architecture consisted of three distinct orders; the Doric, the Ionic, and Corinthian.

The Doric has a masculine grandeur, and a superior air of strength to both the others. It is therefore best adapted to works of great magnitude, and of a sublime character. The character of sublimity is essentially connected with chasteness and simplicity. Of this order is the temple of Theseus at Athens, built ten years after the battle of Marathon, and at this day almost entire.

The Ionic order is light and elegant. The former has a masculine grandeur; the latter a feminine elegance. The Ionic is likewise simple; for simplicity is an essential requisite in

true beauty. Of this order were the temple of Apollo at Miletus, that of the Delphic Oracle, and the temple of Diana at Ephesus.

The Corinthian marks an age of luxury and magnificence, when pomp and splendour had become the predominant passion, but had not yet extinguished the taste for the sublime and beautiful. It attempts therefore an union of all these characters, but satisfies not the chastened judgment, and pleases only a corrupted taste.

——————————— "First unadorned,
"And nobly plain, the manly Doric rose;
"The Ionic then, with decent matron grace,
"Her airy pillar heav'd; luxuriant last
"The rich Corinthian spread her wanton wreath."

THOMSON'S *Liberty, Part 2.*

4. The Tuscan and the Composite orders are of Italian origin. The Etruscan architecture appears to have been nearly allied to the Grecian, but to have possessed an inferior degree of elegance. The Trajan column at Rome is of this order; less remarkable for the beauty of its proportions than for the ad-

mirable sculpture which decorates it.—The Composite order is what its name implies; it shows that the Greeks had in the three original orders exhausted all the principles of grandeur and beauty; and that it was not possible to frame a fourth, but by combining the former.

5. The Gothic architecture offers no contradiction to these observations. The effect which it produces cannot be altogether accounted for from the rules of symmetry or harmony in the proportions between the several parts; but depends on a certain idea of vastness, gloominess, and solemnity, which are powerful ingredients in the sublime.

6. Sculpture was brought by the Greeks to as high perfection as architecture. The remains of Grecian sculpture are at this day the most perfect models of the art; and the modern artists have no means of attaining to excellence so certain, as the study of those great masterpieces.

7. The excellence of the Greeks in sculpture may perhaps be accounted for chiefly from their having the human figure often before their eyes quite naked, and in all its various

attitudes, both in the *Palaestra*, and in their public games. The antique statues have therefore a grandeur united with perfect simplicity, because the attitude is not the result of an artificial disposition of the figure, as in the modern academies, but is nature unconstrained. Thus, in the Dying Gladiator, when we observe the relaxation of the muscles, and the visible failure of strength and life, we cannot doubt that nature was the sculptor's immediate model of imitation*.

8. And this nature was in reality superior to what we now see in the ordinary race of men. The constant practice of gymnastic exercises gave a finer conformation of body than what is now to be found in the vitiated pupils of modern effeminacy, the artificial children of modern fashion.

9. A *secondary* cause of the eminence of the Greeks in the arts of design, was their theology, which furnished an ample exercise for the genius of the sculptor and painter.

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* *Cresilas vulneratum deficientem fecit, ex quo possit intelligi quantum restet animi*, Plin. lib. 36.

10. We must speak with more diffidence of the ability of the Greeks in painting, than we do of their superiority in sculpture; because the existing specimens of the former are extremely rare, and the pieces which are preserved are probably not the most excellent. But in the want of actual evidence, we have every presumption that the Greeks had attained to equal perfection in the art of painting and in sculpture: for if we find the judgement given by ancient writers of their excellence in sculpture, confirmed by the universal assent of the best critics among the moderns, we have every reason to presume an equal rectitude in the judgement which the same ancient writers have pronounced upon their paintings. If Pliny is right in his opinion of the merits of those statues which yet remain, the Venus of Praxiteles, and the Laocoon of Agesander, Polydorus, and Athenodorus, we have no reason to suppose his taste to be less just, when he celebrates the merits, and critically characterises the different manners of Zeuxis, Apelles, Parrhasius, Protogenes, and Timanthes, whose works have perished.

11. The paintings found in Herculaneum, Pompeii, the Sepulchrum Nasonianum at Rome, were probably the work of Greek artists; for the Romans were never eminent in any of the arts dependant on design. These paintings exhibit great knowledge of proportions, and of the chiaro-oscuro; but betray an ignorance of the rules of perspective.

12. The music of the ancients appears to have been very greatly inferior to that of the moderns.

13. The peculiar genius of the Greeks in the fine arts, extended its effects to the revolutions of their states, and influenced their fate as a nation.

XXI.

OF THE GREEK POETS.

1. THE Greeks were the first who reduced the athletic exercises to a system, and considered them as an object of general attention and importance. The Panathenaean, and af-

terwards the Olympic, the Pythian, Nemaean, and Isthmian games, were under the regulation of the laws. They contributed essentially to the improvement of the nation: and, while they cherished martial ardour, and promoted hardiness and agility of body, cultivated likewise urbanity and politeness.

2. The games of Greece were not confined to gymnastic or athletic exercises. They encouraged competitions in genius and learning. They were the resort of the poets, the historians, and the philosophers.

3. In all nations poetry is of greater antiquity than prose composition. The earliest prose writers in Greece, Pherecydes of Scyros, and Cadmus of Miletus, were 350 years posterior to Homer. Any remains of the more ancient poets, as Linus, Orpheus, &c. are extremely suspicious. Homer is generally supposed to have flourished about 907 A. C.; to have followed the occupation of a wandering minstrel, and to have composed his poems in detached fragments, and separate ballads, and episodes. Pisistratus, about 540 A. C. employed some learned men to collect and methodise these fragments; and to this we owe

the complete poems of the Iliad and Odyssey. The distinguishing merits of Homer are, his profound knowledge of human nature, his faithful and minute description of ancient manners, his genius for the sublime and beautiful, and the harmony of his poetical numbers. His fidelity as an historian has been questioned; but the great outlines of his narrative are probably authentic.

4. Hesiod was nearly cotemporary with Homer: a poet, of whose merits we should be little sensible, were they not seen through the medium of an immense antiquity. The poem of the Works and Days contains some judicious precepts of agriculture. The Theogony is an obscure history of the origin of the Gods, and the formation of the universe.

5. About two centuries after Homer and Hesiod, flourished Archilochus, the inventor of Iambic verse; Terpander, equally eminent as a poet and a musician; Sappho, of whose composition we have two exquisite odes; Alcaeus and Simonides, of whom there are some fine fragments; and Pindar and Anacreon, who have left enough to allow an accurate estimate of their merits.

6. Pindar was esteemed by the ancients the chief of the lyric poets. He possesses unbounded fancy, and great sublimity of imagery; but his digressions are so rapid and so frequent, that we cannot discover the chain of thought; and his expression is allowed, even by Longinus, to be often obscure and unintelligible.

7. Anacreon is a great contrast to Pindar. His fancy suggests only familiar and luxurious pictures. He has no comprehension of the sublime, but contents himself with the easy, the graceful, and the wanton. His morality is loose, and his sentiments little else than the effusions of a voluptuary.

8. The collection termed *Anthologia*, which consists chiefly of ancient epigrams, contains many valuable specimens of the taste and poetical fancy of the Greeks, and contributes materially to the illustration of their manners. The best of the modern epigrams may be traced to this source.

9. The aera of the origin of dramatic composition among the Greeks, is about 590 A. C. Thespis was cotemporary with Solon. Within little more than a century the Greek

drama was carried to its highest perfection, for Æschylus, died 456 A. C. Æschylus wrote sixty-six tragedies; for thirteen of which he gained the first prize of dramatic poetry at the Olympic games. Like Shakespeare, his genius is sublime, and his imagination unbounded. He disdained regularity of plan, and all artificial restriction; but unfortunately he disdained likewise the restraints of decency and of good morals.

10. Euripides and Sophocles flourished about fifty years after Æschylus. Euripides is most masterly in painting the passion of love both in its tenderest emotions and in its most violent paroxysms: yet the characters of his women demonstrate that he had no great opinion of the virtues of the sex. Longinus does not rate high his talent for the sublime; but he possessed a much superior excellence; his verses, with great eloquence and harmony, breathe the most admirable morality. There remain twenty tragedies of Euripides; and of these the Medea is deemed the most excellent.

11. Sophocles shared with Euripides the palm of dramatic poetry; and is judged to

have surpassed him in the grand and sublime. Of 120 tragedies which he composed, only seven remain. They display great knowledge of the human heart, and a general chastity and simplicity of expression, which gave the greater force to the occasional strokes of the sublime. The Œdipus of Sophocles is esteemed the most perfect production of the Greek stage.

12. The Greek comedy is divided into the *ancient*, the *middle*, and the *new*. The first was a licentious satire and mimicry of real personages, exhibited by name upon the stage. The laws repressed this extreme licence, and gave birth to the middle comedy, which continued the satirical delineation of real persons, but under fictitious names. The last improvement consisted in banishing all personal satire, and confining comedy to a delineation of manners. This was the new comedy. Of the first species, the ancient, we have no remains. The dramas of Aristophanes are an example of the second or middle comedy. The grossness of his raillery, and the malevolence which frequently inspired it, are a reproach to the morals of that

people which could tolerate it. Yet his works have their value, as throwing light upon ancient manners.

13. Of the new comedy Menander was the bright example; possessing a vein of the most delicate wit, with the utmost purity of moral sentiment. Unforunately we have nothing of him remaining but a few fragments preserved by Athenaeus. We see a great deal of his merits, however, in his copyist and translator Terence.

14. The actors both in the Greek and Roman theatres wore masks, of which the features were strongly painted, and the mouth so constructed as to increase the power of the voice.——It is probable the tragedy and comedy of the Greeks and Romans were set to music, and sung, like the recitative in the Italian opera; and sometimes one person was employed to recite or sing the part, and another to perform the corresponding action or gesticulation.

15. The Mimes were burlesque paradies on the serious tragedy and comedy. The Pantomimes consisted solely of gesticulation, and were carried to great perfection.

XXII.

OF THE GREEK HISTORIANS.

1. The most eminent of the Greek historians were cotemporaries. Herodotus died 413 A. C.; Thucydides, 391 A. C.; and Xenophon was about twenty years younger than Thucydides. Herodotus writes the joint history of the Greeks and Persians, from the time of Cyrus to the battles of Plataea and Mycale. He treats incidentally likewise of the Egyptians, Assyrians, Medes, and Lydians. His veracity is to be depended on in all matters that fell under his own observation; but he admits too easily the reports of others, and is in general fond of the marvellous. His style is pure, and he has a copious elocution.

2. Thucydides, himself an able general, has written, with great ability, the history of the first twenty-one years of the Peloponne-

sian war; introducing it with a short narrative of the preceding periods of the history of Greece. He is justly esteemed for his fidelity and candour. His style is a contrast to the full and flowing period of Herodotus, possessing a sententious brevity, which is at once lively and energetic. The history of the remaining six years of the war of Peloponnesus was written by Theopompus and Xenophon.

3. Xenophon commanded the Greek army in the service of Cyrus the younger, in his culpable enterprise against his brother Artaxerxes, (See Sect. XIII. § 6.) After the failure of this enterprise, Xenophon directed that astonishing retreat from Babylon to the Euxine, of which he has given a splendid and faithful narrative. He wrote likewise the Cyropedia, or the history of the Elder Cyrus, which is believed to be rather an imaginary delineation of an accomplished prince than a real narration. He continued the history of Thucydides, and has left two excellent political tracts on the constitutions of Lacedaemon and Athens. His style is simple and energetic; but the brevity of his sentences sometimes obscures his meaning.

4. Greece, in her decline, produced some historians of great eminence. Polybius, a native of Megalopolis, wrote forty books of the Roman and Greek history during his own age; that is, from the beginning of the second Punic war to the reduction of Macedonia into a Roman province; but of this great work only the first five books are entire, with an epitome of the following twelve. He merits less the praise of eloquence than of authentic information, and most judicious reflection.

5. Diodorus Siculus flourished in the time of Augustus, and composed, in forty books, a general history of the world, under the title of Bibliotheca Historica. No more remain than fifteen books; of which the first five treat of the fabulous periods, and the history of the Egyptians, Assyrians, Persians, Greeks, &c. prior to the Trojan war. The next five are wanting. The remainder brings down the history from the expedition of Xerxes into Greece till after the death of Alexander the Great. He is taxed with chronological inaccuracy in the earlier parts of his work; but the authenticity and correctness of the later periods are unimpeached.

6. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, eminent both as a historian and rhetorician, flourished in the age of Augustus. His Roman Antiquities contain much valuable information, though his work is too much tinctured with the spirit of systematising.

7. Plutarch, a native of Cheronea in Boeotia, flourished in the reign of Nero. His Lives of Illustrious Men is one of the most valuable of the literary works of the ancients; introducing us to an acquaintance with the private character and manners of those eminent persons whose public achievements are recorded by professed historians. His morality is excellent; his style, though unpolished, clear and energetic.

8. Arrian wrote in the reign of Adrian, seven books of the wars of Alexander, with great judgment and fidelity; his narrative being composed on the authority of Aristobulus and Ptolemy, two of Alexander's principal officers. His style is unadorned, but chaste, perspicuous, and manly.

XXIII.

OF THE GREEK PHILOSOPHERS.

1. After the time of Homer and Hesiod, the increasing relish for poetical composition gave rise to a set of men termed Rhapsodists, whose employment was to recite at the games and festivals the composition of the older poets, and to comment on their merits and explain their doctrines. Some of these founding schools of instruction, were dignified by their pupils with the epithet of Sophists, or teachers of wisdom.

2. The most ancient school of philosophy was that founded by Thales, 640 A. C. and termed the Ionic. Thales is celebrated for his knowledge both in geometry and astronomy. His metaphysical doctrines are but imperfectly known. He taught the belief of a First Cause, and an overruling providence; but supposed the Divinity to animate the universe, as the soul does the body. The moral doc-

trines of the Ionic school were pure and rational. The most eminent of the disciples of Thales were Anaximander and Anaxagoras.

3. Soon after the Ionic, arose the Italian sect, founded by Pythagoras, who was born about 586 A. C. He is supposed to have derived much of his knowledge from Egypt; and he had, like the Egyptian priests, a public doctrine for the people, and a private for his disciples: The former a good system of morals, the latter probably unintelligible mystery. His notions of the Divinity were akin to those of Thales; but he believed in the eternity of the universe, and its coexistence with the Deity. He taught the transmigration of the soul through different bodies. His disciples lived in common; they abstained rigorously from the flesh of animals; they held music in high estimation, as a corrective of the passions. Pythagoras believed the earth to be a sphere, the planets to be inhabited, and the fixed stars to be the suns and centres of other systems. His most eminent followers were Empedocles, Epicharmus, Ocellus Lucanus, Timaeus, Archytas.

4. The Eleatic sect was founded by Xenophanes, about 500 A. C. Its chief supporters were Parmenides, Zeno, and Leucippus, citizens of Elea. The metaphysical notions of this sect were utterly unintelligible. They maintained, that things had neither beginning, end, nor any change; and that all the changes we perceive are in our own senses. Yet Leucippus taught the doctrine of atoms, from whence he supposed all material substances to be formed. Of this sect were Democritus and Heraclitus.

5. The Socratic school arose from the Ionic. Socrates died 401 A. C. the wisest, the most virtuous of the Greeks. He exploded the futile logic of the Sophists, which consisted of a set of general arguments applicable to all manner of questions, and by which they could, with an appearance of plausibility, maintain either side of any proposition. Socrates always brought his antagonist to particulars; beginning with a simple and undeniable position, which being granted, another followed equally undeniable, till the disputant was conducted step by step, by his own concessions, to that side of the question on which lay the

truth. His rivals lost all credit as philosophers, but had influence to procure the destruction of the man who had exposed them. The doctrines of Socrates are to be learned from Plato and Xenophon. He taught the belief of a first cause, whose beneficence is equal to his power, the Creator and Ruler of the Universe. He inculcated the moral agency of man, the immortality of the soul, and a future state of reward and punishment. He exploded the Polytheistic superstitions of his country, and thence became the victim of an accusation of impiety. (See Section XIII. § 5.)

6. The morality of Socrates was successfully cultivated by the Cyrenaic sect, but was pushed the length of extravagance by the Cynics. Virtue, in their opinion, consisted in renouncing all the conveniencies of life. They clothed themselves in rags, slept and eat in the streets, or wandered about the country with a stick and a knapsack. They condemned all knowledge as useless. They associated impudence with ignorance, and indulged

themselves in scurrility and invective without restraint.

7. The Megarean sect was the happy inventor of logical syllogism, or the art of quibbling.

8. The Academic sect had Plato for its founder; a philosopher whose doctrines have had a more extensive empire over the minds of mankind than those of any other among the ancients. This is in part owing to their intrinsic merit, and in part to the eloquence with which they have been propounded. Plato had the most sublime ideas of the Divinity and his attributes. He taught that the human soul was a portion of the Divinity, and that this alliance with the eternal mind might be improved into actual intercourse with the Supreme Being, by abstracting the soul from all the corruptions it derives from the body; a doctrine highly flattering to the pride of man, and generating that mystical enthusiasm which has the most powerful empire over a warm imagination.

9. The Platonic philosophy found its chief opponents in four remarkable sects, the Peri-

patetic, the Sceptic, the Stoic, and the Epicurean.

10. Aristotle, the founder of the Peripatetic sect, was the tutor of Alexander the Great, and established his school in the Lyceum at Athens; a philosopher, whose tenets have found more zealous partizans, and more rancorous opponents, than those of any other. His Metaphysics, from the sententious brevity of his expression, are extremely obscure, and have given rise to numberless commentaries. The best analysis of his doctrines is given by Dr Reid, in Lord Kames's Sketches of the History of Man. His physical works are the result of great observation and acquaintance with nature; and his critical writings, as his Poetics and Art of Rhetoric, display both taste and judgment. It is the latter works that will ever continue to be most valued. The peculiar passion of Aristotle was that of classifying, arranging, and combining the objects of his knowledge, so as to reduce all to a few principles; a very dangerous propensity in philosophy, and repressive of improvement in science.

11. The Sceptical sect was founded by Pyrrho. They formed no systems of their own, but endeavoured to weaken the foundations of those of all others. They inculcated universal doubt as the only true wisdom. There was, in their opinion, no essential difference between vice and virtue, farther than as human compact had discriminated them. Tranquillity of mind they supposed to be the state of the greatest happiness, and this was to be attained by absolute indifference to all dogmas or opinions.

12. The Stoics proposing to themselves the same end, tranquillity of mind, took a nobler path to arrive at it. They endeavoured to raise themselves above all the passions and feelings of humanity. They believed all nature, and God himself the soul of the universe, to be regulated by fixed and immutable laws. The human soul being a portion of the Divinity, man cannot complain of being actuated by that necessity which actuates the Divinity himself. His pains and his pleasures are determined by the same laws which determine his existence. Virtue consists in accommodating the disposition of the mind to the immutable laws of nature; vice in oppos-

ing those laws: vice therefore is folly, and virtue the only true wisdom. A beautiful picture of the Stoical philosophy is found in the meditations of M. Aurelius Antoninus.

13. Epicurus taught that man's supreme happiness consisted in pleasure. He himself limited the term so as to make it mean only the practice of virtue. But if pleasure is allowed to be the object, every man will draw it from those sources which he finds can best supply it. It might have been the pleasure of Epicurus to be chaste and temperate. We are told it was so; but others find their pleasure in intemperance and luxury; and such was the taste of his principal followers. Epicurus held that the Deity was indifferent to all the actions of man. They therefore had no other counsellor than their own conscience, and no other guide than the instinctive desire of their own happiness.

14. The Greek philosophy, on the whole, affords little else than a picture of the imbecility and caprice of the human mind. Its teachers, instead of experiment and observation, satisfied themselves with constructing theories; and these, wanting fact for their basis, have

only served to perplex the understanding, and retard equally the advancement of sound morality and the progress of useful knowledge.

XXIV.

THE HISTORY OF ROME.

1. In the delineation of ancient history, Rome, after the conquest of Greece, becomes the leading object of attention; and the history of this empire, in its progress to universal dominion, and afterwards in its decline and fall, involves a collateral account of all the other nations of antiquity which in those periods are deserving of our consideration.

2. Athough we cannot conjecture with certainty as to the aera when Italy was first peopled, we have every reason to believe that it was inhabited by a refined and cultivated nation many ages before the Roman name was known. These were the Etruscans, of whom there exist at this day monuments in

the fine arts, which prove them to have been a splendid, luxurious, and highly polished people. Their alphabet resembling the Phoenician, disposes us to believe them of eastern origin. The Roman historians mention them as a powerful and opulent nation long before the origin of Rome, *Tuscorum ante Romanum imperium latè terra marique opes patuere*, Lib. v. 33. and Dionysius of Halicarnassus deduces most of the religious rites of the Romans from Etruria.

3. The rest of Italy was divided among a number of independent tribes or nations, comparatively in a rude and uncultivated state; Umbrians, Ligurians, Sabines, Veientes, Latins, Æqui, Volsci, &c. Latium, a territory of fifty miles in length and sixteen in breadth, contained forty-seven independent cities or states.

4. The origin of the city and state of Rome is involved in great uncertainty. Dionysius supposes two cities of that name to have existed, and to have perished before the foundation of the city built by Romulus. The vulgar account of the latter is, that it was founded 752 A. C. by a troop of shepherds or

banditti, who peopled their new city by carrying off the wives and daughters of their neighbours the Sabines.

5. The great outlines of the first constitution of the Roman government, though generally attributed to the political abilities of Romulus, seem to have a natural foundation in the usages of barbarous nations. Other institutions bear the traces of political skill and positive enactment.

6. Romulus is said to have divided his people into three tribes, and each tribe into ten *curiæ*. The lands he distributed into three portions; one for the support of the government, another for the maintenance of religion, and the third he divided into equal portions of two acres to each Roman citizen. He instituted a senate of 100 members, (afterwards increased to 200), who deliberated on and prepared all public measures for the assembly of the people, in whom was vested the right of determination. The Patrician families were the descendants of those *centum patres*.

7. The king had the nomination of the senators, the privilege of assembling the people, and a right of appeal in all questions of

importance. He had the command of the army, and the office of *Pontifex Maximus*. He had, as a guard, twelve lictors, and a troop of horseman named *Celeres* or *Equites*, afterwards the distinct order of Roman knights. These regulations are of positive institution: others arose naturally from the state of society.

8. The *patria potestas* is of the later nature, being common to all barbarous tribes.—The limitation of all arts to the slaves arose from the constant employment of the citizens in warfare or in agriculture.

9. The connexion of patron and client was an admirable institution, which at once united the citizens, and maintained an useful subordination.

10. The Sabines were the most formidable enemy of the early Romans; and a wise policy united for a while the two nations into one state. After the death of Romulus, who reigned thirty-seven years, Numa, a Sabine, was elected king. His disposition was pious and pacific, and he endeavoured to give his people the same character. He pretended to divine inspiration, to give the greater authori-

ty to his laws, which in themselves were excellent. He multiplied the national gods, built temples, and instituted different classes of priests, *Flamines*, *Salii*, &c. and a variety of religious ceremonies. The Flamines officiated each in the service of a particular deity; the Salii guarded the sacred bucklers; the Vestals cherished the sacred fire; the Augurs and Aruspices divined future events from the flight of birds, and the entrails of victims. The temple of Janus was open in war, and shut during peace.—Numa reformed the calendar, regulating the year at twelve lunar months, and distinguished the days for civil occupation (*Fasti*) from those dedicated to religious rest, (*Nefasti*). Agriculture was lawful on the latter, as a duty of religion. Numa reigned forty-three years.

11. Tullus Hostilius, the third king of Rome, of warlike disposition, subdued the Albans, Fidenates, and other neighbouring states. The Sabines, now disunited from the Romans, were among the most powerful of their enemies. Tullus reigned thirty-three years.

12. Ancus Martius, the grandson of Numa, was elected king on the death of Tullus. He inherited the piety and virtues of his grandfather, and joined to these the talents of a warrior. He increased the population of Rome, by naturalizing some of the conquered states; enlarged and fortified the city, and built the port of Ostia at the mouth of the Tiber. He reigned gloriously twenty-four years.

13. Tarquinius Priscus, a citizen of Corinth, popular from his wealth and liberality, was elected to the vacant throne. He enlarged the senate by 100 new members from the Plebeian families, *Patres minorum gentium*. This body consisted now of 300, at which number it remained for some centuries. Tarquin was victorious in his wars, and he adorned and improved the city with works of utility and magnificence. Such were the Circus or Hippodrome, the walls of hewn stone; the Capitol; the Cloacae, those immense common sewers, which lead to the belief that the new Rome had been built on the ruins of an ancient city of greater magnitude. Tarquinius

was assassinated in the thirty-eighth year of his reign.

14. Servius Tullius, who had married the daughter of Tarquinius, secured by his own address, and the intrigues of his mother-in-law, his election to the vacant throne. He courted popularity by acts of munificence; discharging the debts of the poor, dividing among the citizens his patrimonial lands, improving the city with useful edifices, and extending its boundaries. The new arrangement which he introduced in the division of the Roman citizens, is a proof of much political ability, and merits attention, as on it depended many of the revolutions of the republic.

15. From the time that the Romans had admitted the Albans and Sabines to the rights of citizens, the Urban and Rustic tribes were composed of those three nations. Each tribe being divided into ten *curiae*, and every curia having an equal vote in the *Comitia*, as each individual had in his tribe, all questions were decided by the majority of suffrages. There was no pre-eminence between the *curiae*, and the order in which they gave their votes was

determined by lot. This was a reasonable constitution, so long as the fortunes of the citizens were nearly on a par; but, when riches came to be unequally divided, it was obvious that much inconvenience must have arisen from this equal partition of power, as the rich could easily, by bribery, command the suffrages of the poor. Besides, all the taxes had hitherto been levied by the head, without any regard to the inequality of fortunes. These obvious defects furnished to Servius a just pretext for an entire change of system. His plan was, to remove the poorer citizens from all share of the government, while the burdens attending its support should fall solely on the rich.

16. All the citizens were required, under a heavy penalty, to declare upon oath their names, dwellings, number of their children, and amount of their fortune. After this numeration or *census*, Servius divided the whole citizens, without distinction, into four tribes, named, from the quarters where they dwelt, the *Palatine*, *Suburran*, *Collatine*, and *Esquiline*. Besides this local division, Servius distributed the whole people into six classes, and

each class into several centuries or portions of citizens, so called, not as actually consisting of an hundred, but as being obliged to furnish and maintain 100 men in time of war. In the first class, which consisted of the richest citizens, or those who were worth at least 100 *minae* *, there were no less than ninety-eight centuries. In the second class (those worth 75 *minae*, there were twenty-two centuries. In the third (those worth 50 *minae*) were twenty centuries. In the fourth (those worth 25 *minae*), twenty-two centuries. In the fifth (those worth 12 *minae*), thirty centuries. The sixth, the most numerous of the whole, comprehending all the poorer citizens, furnished only one century. Thus the whole Roman people were divided into 193 centuries, or portions of citizens, so called, as furnishing each an hundred soldiers. The sixth class was declared exempt from all taxes. The other classes, according to the number of centuries of which they consisted, were rated for the public burdens at so much for each century.

* About L. 300 Sterling.

17. The poor had no reason to complain of this arrangement; but something was wanting to compensate the rich for the burdens to which they were subjected. For this purpose Servius enacted, that henceforth the *Comitia* should give their votes by centuries; the first class, consisting of ninety-eight centuries, always voting first. Thus, although the whole people were called to the *Comitia*, and all seemed to have an equal suffrage, yet, in reality, the richer classes determined every question, the suffrage of the poor being merely nominal: for as the whole people formed 193 centuries, and the first and second classes contained 120 of these, if they were unanimous, which generally happened in questions of importance, a majority was secured. Thus, in the *Comitia Centuriata*, in which the chief magistrates were elected, peace and war decreed, and all other important business discussed, the richer classes of the citizens had the sole authority, the votes of the poor being of no avail. And such was the ingenuity of this policy, that all were pleased with it: the rich paid their taxes with cheerfulness, as the price of their power; and the poor gladly

exchanged authority for immunities. The census, performed every five years, was closed by a *lustrum*, or expiatory sacrifice; and hence that period of time was called a *lustrum*.

18. Servius was assassinated, after a reign of forty-four years, by his infamous daughter Tullia, married to Tarquinius, the grandson of Priscus, who thus paved the way for his own elevation to the throne. The government of Tarquin, surnamed the Proud, was systematically tyrannical. He ingratiated himself with the lower orders, to abase by their means the power of the higher; but insolent, rapacious, and cruel, he finally disgusted all ranks of his subjects. A rape committed by his son Sextus on Lucretia, the wife of Collatinus, who, unable to survive her dishonour, stabbed herself in presence of her husband and kindred, roused their vengeance, and procured, by their influence with their countrymen, the expulsion of the tyrant, and the utter abolition of the regal dignity at Rome, 509 A. C.

19. *Reflections on the Government and State of Rome during the period of the Kings.*—The

whole structure of the constitution of the Romans under the monarchy has been by most authors erroneously attributed exclusively to the abilities of Romulus, a youth of eighteen, the leader of a troop of shepherds or banditti. This chimerical idea we owe to Dionysius of Halicarnassus. The truth is, the Roman government, like almost every other, was the gradual result of circumstances; the fruit of time, and of political emergency.

20. The constitution of the Roman senate has occasioned considerable research, and is not free from obscurity. It is probable that the kings had the sole right of naming the senators, that the consuls succeeded them in this right, and afterwards, when these magistrates found too much occupation from the frequent wars in which the state was engaged, that privilege devolved on the censors. The senators were at first always chosen from the body of the Patricians, but afterwards the Plebeians acquired an equal title to that dignity. In the early periods of the republic, the people could not be assembled but by the senate's authority; nor were the *plebiscita* of any weight till confirmed by their decree.

Hence the early constitution of the republic was rather aristocratical than democratical. From this extensive power of the senate, the first diminution was made, by the creation of the Tribunes of the people; and other retrenchments successively took place, till the people acquired at length the predominant power in the state. Yet the senate, even after every usurpation on their authority, continued to have, in many points, a supremacy. They regulated all matters regarding religion; they had the custody of the public treasure; they superintended the conduct of all magistrates; they gave audience to ambassadors, decided on the fate of vanquished nations, disposed of the governments of the provinces, and took cognizance, by appeal, in all crimes against the state. In great emergencies they appointed a Dictator, with absolute authority.

21. At the period of the abolition of the regal government, the territory of the Romans was extremely limited. The only use they made of their victories was to naturalize the inhabitants of some of the conquered states, and so increase their population. Thus their

strength being always superior to their enterprises, they laid a solid foundation for the future extension of their empire.

22. In the accounts given by Historians of the strength of the armies, both of the Romans in those early times, and of the neighbouring states their enemies, we have every reason to believe there is much exaggeration. The territories from which those armies were furnished, were incapable of supplying them.

23. In the continual wars in which the republic was engaged, the Romans were most commonly the aggressors. The causes of this seem to have been the ambition of the consuls to distinguish their short administration by some splendid enterprise, and the wish of the senate to give the people occupation, to prevent intestine disquiets.

24. The regal government subsisted 244 years, and in that time only seven kings reigned, several of whom died a violent death. These circumstances throw doubt on the authenticity of this period of the Roman history. It is allowed that, for the five first centuries after the building of Rome, there were no historians. The first is Fabius Pictor,

who lived during the second Punic war. Livy says that almost all the ancient records were destroyed when Rome was taken by the Gauls.

XXV.

ROME UNDER THE CONSULS.

1. The regal government being abolished, it was agreed to commit the supreme authority to two magistrates, who should be annually elected by the people from the Patrician order. To these they gave the name of *Consules*; "a modest title, (says Vertot), which "gave to understand that they were rather "the counsellors of the republic than its so-"vereigns; and that the only point they "ought to have in view was its preservation "and glory." But, in fact, their authority differed scarcely in any thing from that of the kings. They had the supreme administration of justice, the disposal of the public money, the power of convoking the senate, and

assembling the people, raising armies, naming all the officers, and the right of making peace and war. The only difference was, that their authority was limited to a year.

2, The first consuls were Brutus, and Collatinus, the husband of Lucretia. Tarquin was at this time in Etruria, where he got two of the most powerful cities, Veii and Tarquinii, to espouse his cause. He had likewise his partisans at Rome, and a plot was formed to open the gates to receive him. It was detected; and Brutus had the mortification to find his two sons in the number of the conspirators. He condemned them to be beheaded in his presence; *Exuit patrem ut consulem ageret; orbusque vivere, quam publicae vindictae deesse maluit.* Val. Max.

3. The consul Valerius, successful in an engagement with the exiled Tarquin, was the first Roman who enjoyed the splendid reward of a triumph. Arrogant from his recent honours, his popularity began to decline; and in the view of recovering it, he proposed the law, termed from him the Valerian, which, "permitted any citizen who had been condemned to death by a magistrate, or even to

" banishment or scourging, to appeal to the " people, and required their consent previous- " ly to the execution of the sentence." This law gave the first blow to the aristocracy, in the constitution of the Roman republic.

4. For thirteen years after the expulsion of Tarquin, the Romans were involved in continual wars on his account. Of these the most remarkable was that with the Etrurians under Porsena; a war fertile in exploits of romantic heroism.

5. Soon after this period began those domestic disorders, which continued long to embroil the republic. Great complaints had arisen among the poorer classes of the citizens, both on account of the inequality of property from the partial distribution of the conquered lands, which the higher ranks generally contrived to engross to themselves, and from the harsh policy by which it was in the power of creditors to reduce to a state of slavery their insolvent debtors. As there was no legal restraint on usury, the poor, when once reduced to the necessity of contracting debts, were left entirely at the mercy of their creditors. These grievances, felt in common by a large

proportion of the citizens, excited much discontent, which, from complaints long disregarded, grew at length into a spirit of determined resistance. The wars required new levies, and the plebeians positively refused to enrol their names, unless the senate should put an end to their oppression, by decreeing at once an abolition of all the debts due by the poor to the rich. The emergency was critical, as the enemy was at the gates of Rome. The consuls found their authority of no avail; for the Valerian law had given any citizen condemned by them a right of appeal to the people. An extraordinary measure was necessary, and a Dictator was created for the first time; a magistrate who, for the period of six months, was invested with absolute and unlimited authority. Lartius, nominated to this high office, armed the twenty-four lictors with axes, summoned the whole people to the Comitia, and calling over the names, under the penalty of death to any citizen who should dare to murmur, enrolled all such as he judged most fit for the service of their country. This expedient became henceforward a frequent

and certain resource in all seasons of public danger.

6. The death of Tarquin removed one check against the tyranny of the higher over the lower orders; for the latter had hitherto kept alive a salutary apprehension, that, in case of extreme oppression, they would be under the necessity of calling back their king. When this fear was at an end, the domineering spirit of the Patricians, exceeding every bound both of good policy and humanity, drove the people at length to deeds of mutiny and rebellion. An alarm from the enemy gave full weight to their power, and made the chief magistrates of the state solemnly engage their honour to procure a redress of their grievances, as soon as the public danger was at an end. The promise, either from a failure of will or of power, was not fulfilled, and this violation of faith drove the people at length to extremities. Bound by their military oath not to desert their standards, they carried them along with them; and the whole army, in military array, withdrew from Rome, and deliberately encamped on the Mons Sacer, at three miles distance from the city; and here they were

soon joined by the greatest part of the people. This resolute procedure had its desired effect. The senate deputed ten persons, the most respectable of their order, with plenary powers; and these, seeing no medium of compromise, granted to the people all their demands. The debts were solemnly abolished; and for the security of their privileges in future, they were allowed the right of choosing magistrates of their own order, who should have the power of opposing with effect every measure which they should judge prejudicial to their interests. These were the Tribunes of the people, chosen annually; at first five in number, and afterwards increased to ten. Without guards or tribunal, and having no seat in the senate-house, they had yet the power, by a single *veto*, to suspend or annul the decrees of the senate and the sentences of the consuls. Their persons were declared sacred, but their authority was confined to the limits of a mile from the city. The tribunes demanded and obtained two magistrates to assist them, who were termed Ædiles, from the charge committed to them of the buildings of the city.

7. From this aera (260 years from the foundation of Rome), we date the commencement of the popular constitution of the Roman republic; a change operated by the unwise policy of the patricians themselves, who by yielding to just complaints, and humanely redressing flagrant abuses, might have easily anticipated every ground of dissatisfaction. The first wish of the people was not power, but relief from tyranny and oppression; and had this been readily granted them, if not by abolishing the debts, at least by repressing enormous usury, and putting an end to the inhuman right of corporal punishment and the bondage of debtors, the people would have cheerfully returned to order and submission, and the Roman constitution have long remained what we have seen it was at the commencement of the consular government, aristocratical. But the plebeians now obtaining magistrates of their own order with those high powers, we shall see it become the object of these magistrates to increase their authority by continual demands and bold encroachments. The people, regarding them as the champion of their rights, are delighted to find

themselves gradually approaching to a level with the higher order; and, no longer bounding their desires to ease and security, are soon equally influenced by ambition as their superiors. While this people, borne down by injustice, seek no more than the redress of real grievances, we sympathize with their feelings, and applaud their spirited exertions; but compassing at length the end they wished, attaining ease and security, nay, power, which they had neither sought nor expected; when we see them, after this, increasing in their demands, assuming that arrogance they justly blamed in their superiors, goaded on by the ambition of their leaders to tyrannise in their turn; we view with proper discrimination the love of liberty and its extreme licentiousness; and treat with just detestation the authors of those pernicious measures which embroiled the state in endless faction, and paved the way for the total loss of that liberty, of which this deluded people knew not the value when they actually possessed it.

XXVI.

THE LAW OF VOLERO.

1. The disorders of the commonwealth, appeased by the creation of the Tribunes, were but for a time suspended. It was necessary that the popular magistrates should make an experiment of their powers. In an assembly of the people, one of the consuls, interrupted by a tribune, rashly said, that had the tribunes called that assembly, he would not have interrupted them. This was a concession on the part of the consuls, that the tribunes had the power of assembling the Comitia, which from that moment, they assumed as their acknowledged right. It was a consequence of this right, that the affairs of the commonwealth should be agitated in those meetings, equally as in the assemblies held in virtue of a consular summons, or senatorial decree, and thus

there were, in a manner, two distinct legislative powers established in the republic.

2. The trial of Coriolanus for inconsiderately proposing the abolition of the Tribunate, an offence interpreted to be treason against the state, threw an additional weight into the scale of the people. The proposal of an Agrarian law, for the division of the lands acquired by recent conquests, resumed at intervals, though never carried into execution, inflamed the passions of the rival orders.

3. Publius Volero, formerly a centurion, and a man distinguished for his military services, had, in the new levies, been ranked as a common soldier. Complaining of this unmerited degradation, he refused his services in that capacity: and the consuls having condemned him to corporal punishment, he appealed from their sentence to the people. The contest lasted till the annual term of elections, when Volero himself was chosen a tribune of the people. He had an ample revenge, by procuring the enactment of a most important law. The Comitia, by centuries and by curiae, could not be called but in virtue of a decree of the senate, after consulting the auspices;

and in those comitia the tribunes had hitherto been elected, and the most important public affairs discussed. It was decreed by the law of Volero, that the election of the tribunes should be made, and the chief public business henceforward discussed, in the comitia held by tribes, which were unfettered by any of those restraints. From this period, the supreme authority in the Roman republic may be considered as having passed completely from the higher order into the hands of the people. The Roman constitution was now plainly a democracy, 471 A. C.

XXVII.

THE DECEMVIRATE.

1. THE Romans had, till this period, no body of civil laws. Under the regal government the kings alone administered justice; the consuls succeeded them in this high prerogative, and thus possessed without control the absolute command of the fortunes and

civil rights of all the citizens. To remedy this great defect, Terentillus, a tribune, proposed the nomination of ten commissioners, to frame and digest a code of laws for the explanation and security of the rights of all orders of the state. A measure so equitable ought to have met with no opposition. It was, however, strenuously though ineffectually opposed by the patricians, who, by a fruitless contest, only exposed their own weakness. The decemviri were chosen; but the election being made in the Comitia by centuries, the consul Appius Claudius, with his colleague, were at the head of this important commission. The laws were framed, those celebrated statutes known by the name of the Twelve Tables, which are the basis of the great structure of the Roman jurisprudence, 451 A. C.

2. An acquaintance with these ancient laws is therefore of importance. Even in the most flourishing times of the republic, they continued to be of the highest authority. They have the encomium of Cicero himself; and we learn from him, that to commit these laws to memory was an essential part of a liberal edu-

cation. From the twelve tables the jurisconsulti composed a system of judicial forms, for the regulation of the different tribunals. The number of the laws was likewise from time to time increased by the *Senatusconsulta* and *Plebiscita*.

3. The decemvirs were invested with all the powers of government, for the consulate had ceased on their creation. Each decemvir by turn presided for a day, and had the sovereign authority, with its insignia, the fasces. The nine others officiated solely as judges in the determination of law-suits, and the correction of abuses. An abuse, however, of the most flagrant nature, committed by the chief of their own number, was destined speedily to bring their office to its termination.

4. Appius Claudius, inflamed by lawless passion for the young Virginia, the betrothed spouse of Icilius, formerly a tribune of the people, employed a profligate dependant to claim the maiden as his own property, on the false pretence of her being the daughter of one of his female slaves. The claim was made to the decemvir himself in judgment, who pronounced an infamous decree, which

tore from her family this helpless victim, and put her into the hands of his own minion. Her father, to save the honour of his child, plunged a dagger into her breast; and the people, witnesses of this shocking scene, would have massacred Appius on the spot, had he not found means to escape amidst the tumult. Their vengeance, however, was satiated by the instant abolition of this hated magistracy, and by the death of Appius, who chose by his own hand to prevent the stroke of the executioner. The decemvirate had subsisted for three years. The consuls were now restored, together with the tribunes of the people, 449 A. C.

XXVIII.

INCREASE OF THE POPULAR POWER.

1. THE scale of the people was daily acquiring weight, at the expence of that of the highest order. Two barriers, however, still separated the patricians and plebeians; the

one, a law which prevented their intermarriage, and the other, the constitutional limitation of all the higher offices to the order of the patricians. It was now only necessary to remove these restraints, and the patricians and plebeians were on a footing of perfect equality. The first, after a long but fruitless contest, was at length agreed to by the senate; and this concession had its usual effect of stimulating the people to inflexible perseverance in their struggle for the latter, On an emergence of war, the customary device was practised, of refusing to enter the rolls, unless upon the immediate enactment of a law, which should admit their capacity of holding all the offices of the republic. The senate sought a palliative, by the creation of six military tribunes in lieu of the consuls, three of whom should be patricians, and three plebeians. This measure satisfied the people for a time; the consuls, however, were soon restored.

2. The disorders of the republic, and frequent wars, had interrupted the regular survey of the citizens. This was remedied by the creation of a new magistracy. Two of-

ficers, under the title of Censors, were appointed (437 A. C.), whose duty was not only to make the *census* every five years, but to inspect the morals and regulate the duties of all the citizens; an office of dignity equal to its importance, exercised, in the latter times of the republic, only by consular persons, and afterwards annexed to the supreme function of the emperors.

3. The dissensions between the orders continued, with little variation either in their causes or effects. The people generally, as the last resource, refused to enrol themselves, till overawed by the supreme authority of a dictator. To obviate the frequent necessity of this measure, which enforced at best an unwilling and compelled obedience, the senate had recourse to a wise expedient; this was, to give a regular pay to the troops. To defray this expence, a moderate tax was imposed in proportion to the fortunes of the citizens. From this period the Roman system of war assumed a new aspect. The senate always found soldiers at command; the army was under its control; the enterprises of the republic were more extensive, and its suc-

cesses more signal and important. Veii, the proud rival of Rome, and its equal in extent and population, was taken by Camillus, after a siege of ten years, A. U. C. 396. The art of war was improved, as it now became a profession, instead of an occasional occupation. The Romans were, from this circumstance, an overmatch for all their neighbours. Their dominion, hitherto confined to the territory of a few miles, was now rapidly extended. It was impossible but the detached states of Italy must have given way before a people always in arms, and who, by a perseverance alike resolute and judicious, were equal to every attempt in which they engaged.

4. The taking of Veii was succeeded by a war with the Gauls. This people, a branch of the great nation of the Celtae, had opened to themselves a passage through the Alps at four different periods, and were at this time established in the country between those mountains and the Appenines. Under the command of Brennus, they laid siege to the Etruscan Clusium; and this people, of no warlike turn themselves, solicited the aid of the Romans. The circumstances recorded of

this war with the Gauls throw over it a cloud of fable and romance. The formidable power of Rome is said to have been in a single campaign so utterly exhausted, that the Gauls entered the city without resistance, and burnt it to the ground, 385 A. C. Though thus overpowered, the Romans, in a single engagement, retrieve all their losses, and in one day's time there is not a Gaul left remaining within the Roman territory.

To the burning of the city by the Gauls, the Roman writers attribute the loss of all the records and monuments of their early history.

5. It is singular, that most of the Roman revolutions should have owed their origin to women. From this cause we have seen spring the abolition of the regal office and the decemvirate. From this cause arose the change of the constitution, by which the plebeians became capable of holding the highest offices of the commonwealth. The younger daughter of Fabius Ambustus, married to a plebeian, envious of the honours of her elder sister, the wife of a patrician, stimulated her father to rouse the lower order to a resolute

purpose of asserting their equal right with the patricians to all the offices and dignities of the state. After much turbulence and contest, the final issue was the admission of the plebeians, first to the consulate, and afterwards to the censorship, the praetorship, and priesthood, (A. U. C. 454. and A. C. 300.); a change beneficial in the main, as consolidating the strength of the republic, and cutting off the principal source of intestine disorder. The factions of the state had hitherto confined the growth of its power, its splendour, and prosperity; for no state can at once be prosperous and anarchical. We shall now mark the rapid elevation of the Roman name and empire.

XXIX.

CONQUEST OF ITALY BY THE ROMANS.

1. The war with the Samnites now began, and was of long continuance; but its successful termination was speedily followed by the

reduction of all the states of Italy. In the course of this important war, the Tarentines, the allies of the Samnites, sought the aid of Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, one of the greatest generals of his age. Pyrrhus landed in Italy with 30,000 men, and a train of elephants, 280 A. C. He was at first successful, but no longer so than till a short experience reconciled the Romans to a new mode of war. Sensible at length of the difficulties of his enterprise, and dreading a fatal issue, he embraced an invitation from the Sicilians to aid them in a war with Carthage. On this pretext, which at least was not dishonourable, Pyrrhus withdrew his troops from Italy. In this interval the Romans reduced the Samnites, the Tarentines, and the other allied states, to extremity. Pyrrhus returned, and made a last effort near Beneventum. He was totally defeated, lost 26,000 men, and, abandoning at once all further views to Italy, returned with precipitation to his own dominions, 274 A. C. The hostile states submitted to the victorious power; and Rome, 480 years from the foundation of the city, was now mistress of all Italy.

2. The policy observed by the Romans, with respect to the conquered nations, was wise and judicious. They removed to Rome all the leading men of the principal conquered cities, admitting these into the ancient urban and rustic tribes, and thus soothing the pride of the vanquished, by giving them an apparent share in their own domestic government; while, in arranging the constitution of the cities, they filled their magistracies with illustrious Romans, whose abilities and influence were fitted to maintain those new provinces in allegiance to the Roman government.

3. Sicily had long been considered as the granary of Italy. The Carthaginians at this time possessed very considerable settlements in the island, and were ambitious of acquiring its entire dominion. An obvious policy led the Romans to dispute with them this important acquisition, and gave rise to the Punic wars. This leads, by a natural connexion, to a short view of the history of Carthage and of Sicily.

XXX.

HISTORY OF CARTHAGE.

1. CARTHAGE, according to the most probable accounts, was founded by a colony of Tyrians, about seventy years before the building of Rome. The colony had the same language, the same or nearly similar laws and constitution, the same national character with the parent state. The city of Carthage was, at the period of the Punic wars, one of the most splendid in the universe, and had under its dominion 300 of the smaller cities of Africa bordering on the Mediterranean sea.

2. The constitution of the republic is celebrated by Aristotle as one of the most perfect of the governments of antiquity; but we know little more than its general nature from ancient writers. Two magistrates, named *Suffetes*, annually chosen, seem to have possessed powers akin to those of the Roman consuls;

as did the Carthaginian senate to that of the senate of Rome; with this remarkable difference, that, in the former, unanimity of opinion was requisite in all measures of importance. A divided senate transmitted the business to the assembly of the people. A tribunal of 104 judges took cognizance of military operations and of the conduct of their generals. A superior council of five seems to have controuled the decisions of the larger tribunal. Two peculiarities of the Carthaginian policy have been censured by Aristotle. One was, that the same person might hold several employments or offices in the state; the other, that the poor were debarred from all offices of trust or importance. But the former of these is frequently both expedient and necessary, and the latter seems agreeable to the soundest policy; for in offices of trust poverty offers too powerful an incitement to deviation from duty.

3. The first settlements made by the Carthaginians were entirely in the way of commerce. Trading to the coast of Spain for gold, they built Carthagena and Gades; and coasting along the western shore of Africa,

they had establishments for the same purpose as far as the 25th degree of N. latitude. The *Periplus* of Hanno affords a proof of ardent enterprise and policy. Desirous of extending a limited territory, they armed against the Mauritanians, Numidians, and all the neighbouring nations; employing mercenary troops, which they levied, not only in Africa, but in Spain, the Gauls, and Greece.

4. The annals of the Carthaginian state are but little known till their wars with the Romans. The first of their wars mentioned in history is that with the Greek colonies of Sicily. Darius courted their alliance when he meditated the conquest of Greece, and Xerxes renewed that treaty when he followed out the designs of his father.

XXXI.

HISTORY OF SICILY.

1. THE early periods of the history of Sicily are no less unknown than those of Carthage.

The Phoenicians had sent colonies thither before the Trojan war. The Greeks, in after times, made considerable settlements in the island. The Corinthians founded Syracuse, which became the most illustrious of the Greek cities of Sicily; and from Syracuse arose afterwards Agrigentum, Acra, Casmene, Camarene, and several other Sicilian towns.

2. The government of Syracuse was monarchical, and might long have remained so, had all its sovereigns inherited the abilities and virtues of Gelon. But his successors, exercising the worst of tyranny, compelled their subjects et length to abolish the regal government; and their example was speedily followed by all the Grecian states of Sicily.

3. The monarchy of Syracuse, however, was revived about sixty years after in the person of Dionysius, a man of obscure origin, but of signal ability. Twice expelled for a tyrannical exercise of dominion, he as often found means to overpower his enemies, and re-establish himself in the throne. At his death, the crown passed, without opposition, to his son, Dionysius the younger, a weak and capricious tyrant, whom his subjects, judging un-

worthy to reign, dethroned and banished, 357 A. C. The crown was conferred on Dion, his brother-in-law: but this prince, whose amiable character rendered him the delight of his people, after a short reign, fell a victim to treason. Aided by the distractions of Syracuse consequent on this event, Dionysius remounted the throne ten years after his expulsion; but his tyrannical disposition, heightened by his misfortunes, became at length so intolerable, that he was expelled a second time, and banished to Corinth, where he ended his days in poverty and obscurity. The author of this revolution was the illustrious Timoleon, to whose abilities and virtues his country owed equally its liberty and its subsequent happiness and prosperity, 343 A. C.

THE signal opposition of national character between the Romans and Carthaginians may be easily accounted for, when we attend to the effects of a commercial life on the genius and manners of a nation. The vices of a

commercial people are, selfishness, cunning, avarice, with an absence of every heroic and patriotic virtue. The favourable effects of commerce are, industry, frugality, general courtesy of manners, improvement in the useful arts. Attending to these consequences of the prevalence of the commercial spirit, we shall see the principal features of the Carthaginian character opposed to the Roman.

XXXII.

THE PUNIC WARS.

1. THE triumph which the Romans had obtained over Pyrrhus seemed to give assurance of success in any enterprise in which they should engage. The Mamertines, a people of Campania, obtained aid from the Romans in an unjustifiable attempt which they made to seize Messina, a Sicilian town allied to Syracuse. The Syracusans, at first assisted by the Carthaginians, opposed this invasion; but

the former, more alarmed by the ambitious encroachments of the Carthaginians on Sicily, soon repented of this rash alliance, and joined the Romans in the purpose of expelling the Carthaginians entirely from the island. In fact, the Sicilians seem to have had only the desperate choice of final submission either to Rome or Carthage. They chose the former, as the alternative least dishonourable: The Romans had ever been their friends, the Carthaginians their enemies.

2. Agrigentum, possessed by the Carthaginians, was taken, after a long siege, by the joint forces of Rome and Syracuse, and a Roman fleet, the first they ever had, and equipped in a few weeks, gained a complete victory over that of Carthage, at this time the greatest maritime power in the world, 260 A. C. These successes were followed by the reduction of Corsica and Sardinia. In a second naval engagement, the Romans took from the Carthaginians sixty of their ships of war, and now resolutely prepared for the invasion of Africa. The Consul Regulus commanded the expedition. He advanced to the gates of Carthage: and such was the general conster-

nation, that the enemy proposed a capitulation. Inspirited, however, by a timely aid of Greek troops under Xantippus, the Carthaginians made a desperate effort, and, defeating the Roman army, made Regulus their prisoner. But, repeatedly defeated in Sicily, they were at length seriously desirous of a peace; and the Roman general was sent with their ambassadors to Rome to aid the negociation, under a solemn oath to return to Carthage as a prisoner, should the treaty fail. It was rejected at the urgent desire of Regulus himself, who thus sacrificed his life to what he judged the interest of his country.

3. Lilyboeum, the strongest of the Sicilian towns belonging to Carthage, was taken after a siege of nine years. After some alternate successes, two naval battles won by the Romans terminated the war; and Carthage at last obtained a peace, on the humiliating terms of abandoning to the Romans all her possessions in Sicily, the payment of 3200 talents of silver, the restitution of all prisoners without ransom, and a solemn engagement never to make war against Syracuse or her allies. The island of Sicily was now declared a Roman pro-

vince, though Syracuse maintained her independent government, A. U. C. 511, and A. C. 241.

4. The peace between Rome and Carthage was of twenty-three years duration. The latter power was recruiting her strength, and meditated to revenge her losses and disgrace. The second Punic war began on the part of the Carthaginians, who besieged Saguntum, a city of Spain in alliance with the Romans. The young Hannibal took Saguntum, after a siege of seven months; the desperate inhabitants setting fire to the town, and perishing amidst the flames. Hannibal now formed the bold design of carrying the war into Italy. He provided against every difficulty, gained to his interest a part of the Gallic tribes, passed the Pyrenees, and finally the Alps*, in a

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* The passage of Hannibal over the Alps has been lately illustrated, in a most learned and ingenious essay, by Mr Whitaker (the celebrated historian of Manchester, and vindicator of Queen Mary), who has, with great acuteness, traced every step of the Carthaginian General, from his crossing the Rhone to his final arrival in Italy.

toilsome march of five months and a half from his leaving Carthagena; and arrived in Italy with 20,000 foot and 6000 horse.

5. In the first engagement the Romans were defeated, and they lost two other important battles at Trebia and the lake Thrasymenus. In the latter of these the consul Flaminius was killed, and his army cut to pieces. Hannibal advanced to Cannae in Apulia; and the Romans there opposing him with their whole force, a memorable defeat ensued, in which 40,000 were left dead upon the field, and amongst these the consul Æmilius, and almost the whole body of the Roman knights. Had Hannibal taken advantage of this great victory, by instantly attacking Rome, the fate of the republic was inevitable; but he deliberated, and the occasion was lost. The Romans concentrated all their strength; even the slaves armed in the common cause, and victory once more attended the standards of the republic. Philip, king of Macedon, joined his forces to the Carthaginians, but, defeated by Levinus, speedily withdrew his assistance. Hannibal retreated before the brave Marcellus. Syracuse had now taken part with

Carthage, and thus paved the way for the loss of her own liberty. Marcellus besieged the city, which was long defended by the inventive genius of Archimedes, but taken in the third year by escalade in the night. This event put an end to the kingdom of Syracuse, which now became a part of the Roman province of Sicily, A. U. C. 542, A. C. 212.

6. While the war in Italy was prosperously conducted by the great Fabius, who, by constantly avoiding a general engagement, found the true method of weakening his enemy, the younger Scipio accomplished the entire reduction of Spain. Asdrubal was sent into Italy to the aid of his brother Hannibal, but was defeated by the consul Claudius, and slain in battle. Scipio, triumphant in Spain, passed over into Africa, and carried havoc and devastation to the gates of Carthage. Alarmed for the fate of their empire, the Carthaginians hastily recalled Hannibal from Italy. The battle of Zama decided the fate of the war, by the utter defeat of the Carthaginians. They entreated a peace, which the Romans gave, on these conditions; That the Carthaginians should abandon Spain, Sicily, and all the

islands; surrender all their prisoners, give up the whole of their fleet except ten gallies, pay 10,000 talents, and, in future, undertake no war without consent of the Romans, A. U. C. 552, A. C. 202.

7. Every thing now concurred to swell the pride of the conquerors, and to extend their dominion. A war with Philip of Macedon was terminated by his defeat; and his son Demetrius was sent to Rome as a hostage for the payment of a heavy tribute imposed on the vanquished. A war with Antiochus, king of Syria, ended in his ceding to the Romans the whole of the Lesser Asia. But these splendid conquests, while they enlarged the empire, were fatal to its virtues, and subversive of the pure and venerable simplicity of ancient times.

8. The third Punic war began A. U. C. 605. A. C. 149, and ended in the ruin of Carthage. An unsuccessful war with the Numidians had reduced the Carthaginians to great weakness, and the Romans meanly laid hold of that opportunity to invade Africa. Conscious of their utter inability to resist this formidable power, the Carthaginians offered every submission, and consented even to ac-

knowledge themselves the subjects of Rome. The Romans demanded 300 hostages, for the strict performance of every condition that should be enjoined by the senate. The hostages were given, and the condition required was, that Carthage itself should be razed to its foundation. Despoir gave courage to this miserable people, and they determined to die in the defence of their native city. But the noble effort was in vain. Carthage was taken by storm, its inhabitants massacred, and the city burnt to the ground, A. U. C. 607, A. C. 146.

9. The same year was signalized by the entire reduction of Greece under the dominion of the Romans. This was the aera of the dawn of luxury and taste at Rome, the natural fruit of foreign wealth, and an acquaintance with foreign manners. In the unequal distribution of this imported wealth, the vices to which it gave rise, the corruption and venality of which it became the instrument, we see the remoter causes of those fatal disorders to which the republic owed its dissolution.

XXXIII.

THE GRACCHI, AND THE CORRUPTION OF THE COMMONWEALTH.

1. At this period arose Tiberius and Caius Gracchus, two noble youths, whose zeal to reform the growing corruptions of the state precipitated them at length into measures destructive of all government and social order. Tiberius, the elder of the brothers, urged the people to assert by force the revival of an ancient law, for limiting property in land, and thus abridging the overgrown estates of the Patricians. A tumult was the consequence, in which Tiberius, with 300 of his friends were killed in the forum. This fatal example did not deter his brother, Caius Gracchus, from pursuing a similar career of zeal or of ambition. After some successful experiments of his power, while in the office of tribune, he directed his scrutiny into the corruptions of

the senate, and prevailed in depriving that body of its constitutional controul over all the inferior magistrates of the state. Employing, like his brother, the dangerous engine of tumultuary force, he fell a victim to it himself, with 3000 of his partisans, who were slaughtered in the streets of Rome. The tumults attending the sedition of the Gracchi were the prelude to those civil disorders which now followed in quick succession to the end of the commonwealth.

2. The circumstances attending the war with Jugurtha gave decisive proof of the corruption of the Roman manners. Jugurtha, grandson of Masinissa, sought to usurp the crown of Numidia by destroying his cousins, Hiempsal and Adherbal, the sons of the last king. He murdered the elder of the brothers; and the younger applying for aid to Rome, Jugurtha bribed the senate, who declared him innocent of all culpable act or design, and decreed to him the sovereignty of half the kingdom. This operated only as an incentive to his criminal ambition. He declared open war against his cousin, besieged him in his capital of Cirta, and finally put him to death.

To avert a threatened war, Jugurtha went in person to Rome, pleaded his own cause in the senate, and once more by bribery secured his acquittal from all charge of criminality. A perseverance, however, in a similar train of conduct finally drew on him the vengeance of the Romans; and being betrayed into their hands by his own father-in-law, he was brought in chains to Rome, to grace the triumph of the consul Marius, confined to a dungeon, and starved to death, A. U. C. 651, A. C. 103.

3. The ambition of the allied states of Italy to attain the rights of citizenship produced the Social war, which ended in a concession of those rights to such of the confederates as should return peaceably to their allegiance. This war with the allies was a prelude to that which followed between Rome and her own citizens. Sylla and Marius, rivals, and thence enemies, were at this time the leaders of the republic. Sylla, commanding in a war against Mithridates, was superseded, and recalled from Asia. He refused to obey the mandate, and found his army well disposed to support him. "Let us march to Rome," said they, with

one voice; "lead us on to avenge the cause "of oppressed liberty." Sylla accordingly led them on, and they entered Rome sword in hand: Marius and his partisans fled with precipitation from the city, and Sylla ruled for a while triumphant. But the faction of his rival soon recovered strength. Marius returning to Italy, and joining his forces to those of Cinna, his zealous partisan, laid siege to Rome, and while Sylla was engaged in the Mithridatic war, compelled the city to absolute submission. After a horrible massacre of all whom they esteemed their enemies, Marius and Cinna proclaimed themselves consuls, without the formality of an election; but Marius died a few days after in a fit of debauch.

4. After a victorious campaign in Asia, Sylla returned to Italy, and, joined by Cethegus, Verres, and the young Pompey, gave battle to the party of his enemies, and entirely defeated them. His entry into Rome was signalized by a dreadful massacre, and a proscription, which had for its object the extermination of every enemy whom he had in Italy. Elected dictator for an unlimited period, he was now without a rival in authori-

ty, and absolute master of the government, which, of course, was no longer a republic. In the exercise of his dominion, he deserved more praise than in the means of acquiring it. He restored the senate to its judicial authority, regulated the election to all the important offices of state, and enacted many excellent laws against oppression, and the abuse of power. Finally, he gave demonstration, if not of a pure conscience, at least of a magnanimous intrepidity of character, by voluntarily resigning all command, retiring to the condition of a private citizen, and offering publicly to give an account of his conduct. He died within a short time after his resignation :—a man certainly of great strength of mind, and who had some of the qualities of an heroic character ; but he lived in evil times, when it was impossible at once to be great and to be virtuous.

5. The death of Sylla renewed the civil war. Lepidus, a man of no abilities, aspired to succeed him in power ; and Pompey, with superior talents, cherished the same ambition. While the latter was employed in the reduction of the revolted provinces of Asia, the

conspiracy of Catiline threatened the entire destruction of Rome. It was extinguished by the provident zeal and active patriotism of the consul Cicero; and Catiline himself, with his chief accomplices, were attacked in the field, and defeated by Antonius. The traitor made a desperate defence, and died a better death than his crimes had merited.

6. Julius Caesar now rose into public notice. Sylla dreaded his abilities and ambition, and had numbered him among the proscribed. "There is many a Marius," said he, "in the "person of that young man." He had learned prudence from the danger of his situation, and tacitly courted popularity, without that show of enterprise which gives alarm to a rival. While Pompey and Crassus contended for the command of the republic, Caesar, who knew that, by attaching himself to either rival, he infallibly made the other his enemy, showed the reach of his talents by reconciling them, and thus acquiring the friendship of both. From favour to their mutual friend, they agreed to a partition of power; and thus was formed the first Triumvirate. Caesar was elected consul. He increased his popu-

larity by a division of lands among the poorer citizens, and strengthened his interest with Pompey, by giving him his daughter in marriage. He had the command of four legions, and the government of Transalpine Gaul and Illyria.

7. The military glory of the republic, and the reputation of Caesar, were nobly sustained in Gaul. In the first year of his government he subdued the Helvetii, who, leaving their own country, had attempted to settle themselves in the better regions of the Roman province. He totally defeated the Germans under Ariovistus, who had attempted a similar invasion. The Belgae, the Nervii, the Celtic Gauls, the Suevi, Menapii, and other warlike nations, were all successively brought under subjection. In the fourth year of his government, he transported his army into Britain. Landing at Deal, he was opposed by the natives with equal courage and military skill. He gained, however, several advantages, and, binding the Britons to submission, withdrew, on the approach of winter, into Gaul. He returned in the following summer with a greater force, and, prosecut-

ing his victories. reduced a considerable portion of the island under the Roman dominion, A. C. 54. But the pressure of affairs in Italy suspended for a time the progress of the Roman arms in Britain.

8. Caesar dreaded the abilities of Cicero, who had opposed him in his views of ambition. By the machinations of his partisans, while himself absent in Gaul, he procured the banishment of Cicero, and the confiscation of his estates, on the pretence of illegal measures pursued in the suppression of the conspiracy of Catiline. During an exile of sixteen months in Greece, Cicero gave way to a despondency of mind utterly unworthy of the philosopher. Pompey had abandoned him, and this ungrateful desertion bore most heavily upon his mind: but Pompey himself, in the wane of his reputation, soon became desirous to prop his own sinking fortunes by the abilities of Cicero, and eagerly promoted his recal from exile. The death of Crassus, in an expedition against the Parthians, now dissolved the Triumvirate; and Caesar and Pompey, whose union had no other bond

than interest, began each to conceive separately the view of undivided dominion.

XXXIV.

PROGRESS OF THE CIVIL WARS—SECOND TRIUMVIRATE—AND FALL OF THE REPUBLIC.

1. THE ambition of Caesar and of Pompey had now evidently the same object; and it seemed to be the only question in those degenerate times, to which of these aspiring leaders the republic should surrender its liberties. The term of Caesar's government was near expiring; but to secure himself against a deprivation of power, he procured a proposal to be made in the senate by one of his partisans, which wore the appearance of great moderation, namely, that Caesar and Pompey should either both continue in their governments, or both be deprived of them, as they were equally capable of endangering the public liberty by an abuse of power. The motion passed, and Caesar immediately offered to resign, on

condition that his rival should do so; but Pompey rejected the accommodation; the term of his government had yet several years duration, and he suspected the proposal to be a snare laid for him by Caesar. He resolved to maintain his right by force of arms, and a civil war was the necessary consequence. The consuls and a great part of the senate were the friends of Pompey. Caesar had on his side a victorious army, consisting of ten legions, and the body of the Roman citizens, whom he had won by his liberality. Mark Antony and Cassius, at that time tribunes of the people, left Rome, and repaired to Caesar's camp.

2. The senate, apprehensive of his designs, pronounced a decree, branding with the crime of parricide any commander who should dare to pass the Rubicon (the boundary between Italy and the Gauls) with a single cohort, without their permission. Caesar infringed the prohibition, and marched straight to Rome. Pompey, to whom the senate committed the defence of the state, had no army. He quitted Rome, followed by the consuls and a part of the senate, and endeavoured

hastily to levy troops over all Italy and Greece; while Caesar triumphantly entered the city amidst the acclamations of the people, seized the public treasury, and possessed himself of the supreme authority without opposition. Having secured the capital of the empire, he set out to take the field against his enemies. The lieutenants of Pompey had possession of Spain. Caesar marched thither, and subdued the whole country in the space of forty days. He returned victorious to Rome, where, in his absence, he had been nominated dictator. In the succeeding election of magistrates he was chosen consul, and thus invested, by a double title, with the right of acting in the name of the republic. Pompey had by this time raised a numerous army, and Caesar was anxious to bring him to a decisive engagement. He joined him in Illyria, and the first conflict was of doubtful issue; but leading on his army to Macedonia, where they found a large reinforcement, he gave battle to Pompey in the field of Pharsalia, and entirely defeated him. Fifteen thousand were slain, and 24,000 surrendered them-

selves prisoners to the victor, A. U. C. 705, A. C. 49.

3. The fate of Pompey was miserable in the extreme. With his wife Cornelia, the companion of his misfortunes, he fled to Egypt in a single ship, trusting to the protection of Ptolemy, whose father had owed to him his settlement on the throne. But the ministers of this young prince, dreading the power of Caesar, basely courted his favour by the murder of his rival. Brought ashore in a small boat by the guards of the king, a Roman centurion, who had fought under his own banners, stabbed him, even in the sight of Cornelia, and cutting off his head, threw the body naked on the sands.—Caesar pursued Pompey to Alexandria, where the head of that unhappy man, presented as a grateful offering, gave him the first intelligence of his fate. He wept, and turned with horror from the sight. He caused every honour to be paid to his memory, and from that time showed the utmost beneficence to the partisans of his unfortunate rival.

4. The sovereignty of Egypt was in dispute between Ptolemy and his sister Cleopa-

tra. The latter, though married to her brother, and joint heir by her father's will, was ambitious of undivided authority; and Caesar, captivated by her charms, decided the contest in favour of the beauteous queen. A war ensued, in which Ptolemy was killed, and Egypt subdued by the Roman arms. In this war the famous library of Alexandria was burnt to ashes, A. C. 48. A revolt of the Asiatic provinces, under Pharnaces the son of Mithridates, was signally chastised, and the report conveyed by Caesar to the Roman senate in three words, *Veni, vidi, vici.* The conqueror returned to Rome, which needed his presence; for Italy was divided, and the partisans of Pompey were yet extremely formidable. His two sons, with Cato and Scipio, were in arms in Africa. Caesar pursued them thither, and, proceeding with caution till secure of his advantage, defeated them in a decisive engagement at Thapsus. Scipio perished in his passage to Spain. Cato, shutting himself up in Utica, meditated a brave resistance; but finally, seeing no hope of success, he determined not to survive the liberties of his country, and fell deliberately by

his own hand. Mauritania was now added to the number of the Roman provinces, and Caesar returned to Rome absolute master of the empire.

5. From that moment his attention was directed solely to the prosperity and happiness of the Roman people. He remembered no longer that there had been opposite parties; beneficent alike to the friends of Pompey as to his own. He laboured to reform every species of abuse or grievance. He introduced order into every department of the state, defining the separate rights of all its magistrates, and extending his care to the regulation of its most distant provinces. The reformation of the kalendar, the draining the marshes of Italy, the navigation of the Tiber, the embellishment of Rome, the complete survey and delineation of the empire, alternately employed his liberal and capacious mind.—Returning from the final overthrow of Pompey's party in Spain, he was hailed the Father of his Country, was created consul for ten years, and perpetual dictator. His person was declared sacred, his title henceforth *Imperator*,

A. U. C. 709, A. C. 45.

6. The Roman republic had thus finally, by its own acts, resigned its liberties. They were not extinguished, as Montesquieu has well remarked, by the ambition of a Pompey or of a Caesar. If the sentiments of Caesar and Pompey had been the same with those of Cato, others would have had the same ambitious thoughts; and since the commonwealth was fated to fall, there never would have been wanting a hand to drag it to destruction. Yet Caesar had by force subdued his country; he therefore was an usurper: and had it been possible to restore the liberties of the republic, and with these its happiness, by the suppression of that usurpation, the attempt had merited the praise at least of good design. Perhaps so thought his murderers; and thus, however weak their policy, however base and treacherous their act, with many they will ever find apologists. They madly dreamed an impossible issue, as the event demonstrated.

7. A conspiracy was formed by sixty of the senators, at the head of whom were Brutus and Cassius; the former a man beloved of Caesar, who had saved his life, and heaped

upon him numberless benefits. It was rumoured that the dictator wished to add to his numerous titles that of king, and that the Ides of March was fixed on for investing him with the diadem. On that day, when taking his seat in the senate-house, he was suddenly assailed by the conspirators; he defended himself for some time against their daggers, till, seeing Brutus amongst the number, he faintly exclaimed, "And you, too, my son!" and, covering his face with his robe, resigned himself to his fate. He fell, pierced by twenty-three wounds, A. U. C. 711. A. C. 43.

8. The Roman people were struck with horror at the deed: they loved Caesar, master as he was of their lives and liberties. Mark Antony and Lepidus, ambitious of succeeding to the power of the dictator, resolved to pave the way by avenging his death. The people to whom Caesar, by his testament, had bequeathed a great part of his fortune, were penetrated with gratitude to his memory. A public harangue from Antony over the bleeding body, exposed in the forum, inflamed them with the utmost indignation against his murderers, who must have met with instant

destruction, had they not escaped with precipitation from the city. Antony profited by these dispositions; and the avenger of Caesar, of course the favourite of the people, was in the immediate prospect of attaining a similar height of dominion. In this, however, he found a formidable competitor in Octavius, the grand-nephew and the adopted heir of Caesar, who, at this critical moment, arrived in Rome. Availing himself of these titles, Octavius gained the senate to his interest, and divided with Antony the favour of the people. The rivals soon perceived that it was their wisest plan to unite their interests; and they admitted Lepidus into their association, whose power, as governor of Gaul, and immense riches, gave him a title to a share of authority. Thus was formed the second Triumvirate, the effects of whose union were beyond measure dreadful to the republic. The Triumviri divided among themselves the provinces, and cemented their union by a deliberate sacrifice made by each of his best friends to the vengeance of his associates. Antony consigned to death his uncle Lucius, Lepidus his brother Paulus, and Octavius his guardian Toranius,

and his friend Cicero. In this horrible proscription 300 senators and 3000 knights were put to death.

9. Octavius and Antony now marched against the conspirators, who had a formidable army in the field in Thrace, commanded by Brutus and Cassius. An engagement ensued at Philippi, which decided the fate of the empire. Antony was victorious, for Octavius had no military talents; he was destitute even of personal bravery; and his conduct after the victory was stained with that cruelty which is ever the attendant of cowardice. Brutus and Cassius escaped the vengeance of their enemies by a voluntary death. Antony now sought a recompence for his troops by the plunder of the east. While in Cilicia, he summoned Cleopatra to answer for her conduct in dethroning an infant brother, and in openly favouring the party of Brutus and Cassius. The queen came to Tarsus, and made a complete conquest of the Triumvir. Immersed in luxury, and intoxicated with love, he forgot glory, ambition, fame, and every thing for Cleopatra; and Octavius saw this phrenzy with delight, as the preparative of his rival's

ruin. He had nothing to dread from Lepidus, whose insignificant character first drew on him the contempt of his partisans; and whose folly, in attempting an invasion of the province of his colleague, was punished by his deposition and banishment.

10. Antony had in his madness lavished the provinces of the empire in gifts to his paramour and her children. The Roman people were justly indignant at these enormities; and the divorce of his wife Octavia, the sister of his colleague, was at length the signal of declared hostility between them. An immense armament, chiefly naval, came at length to a decisive conflict near Actium, on the coast of Epirus. Cleopatra, who attended her lover, deserted him with her galleys in the heat of the engagement; and such was the infatuation of Antony, that he abandoned his fleet and followed her. After a contest of some hours, they yielded to the squadron of Octavius, A. U. C. 723. A. C. 31. The victor pursued the fugitives to Egypt; and the base Cleopatra proffered terms to Octavius, including the surrender of her kingdom, and the abandonment of Antony. After an unsuccessful attempt at

resistance, he anticipated his fate by falling on his sword. And Cleopatra soon after, either from remorse, or more probably from mortified ambition, as she found it was Octavius's design to lead her in chains to Rome to grace his triumph, had courage to follow the example of her lover, and put herself to death by the poison of an asp.—Octavius returned to Rome, sole master of the Roman empire, A. U. C. 727. A. C. 27.

XXXV.

CONSIDERATIONS ON SUCH PARTICULARS AS MARK THE GENIUS AND NATIONAL CHARACTER OF THE ROMANS.

SYSTEM OF ROMAN EDUCATION.

1. A VIRTUOUS but rigid severity of manners was the characteristic of the Romans under their kings, and in the first ages of the republic. The private life of the citizens, fru-

gal, temperate, and laborious, had its influence on their public character. The *Patria potestas* gave to every head of a family a sovereign authority over all the members that composed it; and this power, felt as a right of nature, was never abused. Plutarch has remarked, as a defect of the Roman laws, that they did not prescribe, as those of Lacedaemon, a system and rules for the education of youth. But the truth is, the manners of the people supplied this want. The utmost attention was bestowed in the early formation of the mind and character. The excellent author of the dialogue *De Oratoribus* (whether Quintilian or Tacitus) presents a valuable picture of the Roman education in the early ages of the commonwealth, contrasted with the less virtuous practice of the more refined. The Roman matrons did not abandon their infants to mercenary nurses. They esteemed those duties sacred, and regarded the careful nurture of their offspring, the rudiments of their education, and the necessary occupations of their household, as the highest points of female merit. Next to the care bestowed in the instilment of virtuous morals, a remarkable de-

gree of attention seems to have been given to the language of children, and to the attainment of a correctness and purity of expression. Cicero informs us, that the *Gracchi*, the sons of Cornelia, were educated, *non tam in graemio quam in sermone matris.* That urbanity which characterized the Roman citizens showed itself particularly in their speech and gesture.

2. The attention to the language of the youth had another source. It was by eloquence more than by any other talent, that the young Roman could rise to the highest offices and dignities of the state. The *studia forensia* were, therefore, a principal object of the Roman education. Plutarch informs us, that among the sports of the children at Rome, one was, the pleading causes before a mock tribunal, and accusing and defending a criminal in the usual forms of judicial procedure.

3. The exercises of the body were likewise particularly attended to; whatever might harden the temperament, and confer strength and agility. These exercises were daily practised by the youth, under the eye of their elders, in the Campus Martius.

4. At seventeen the youth assumed the manly robe. He was consigned to the care of a master of rhetoric, whom he attended constantly to the forum, or to the courts of justice; for, to be an accomplished gentleman, it was necessary for a Roman to be an accomplished orator. The pains bestowed on the attainment of this character, and the best instructions for its acquisition, we learn from the writings of Cicero, Quintilian, and the younger Pliny.

XXXVI.

OF THE PROGRESS OF LITERATURE AMONG THE ROMANS.

1. BEFORE the intercourse with Greece, which took place after the Punic wars, the Roman people was utterly rude and illiterate. As among all nations the first appearance of the literary spirit is shown in poetical composition, the Roman warrior had probably, like the Indian or the Celtic, his war songs which

celebrated his triumphs in battle. Religion likewise employs the earliest poetry of most nations; and if a people subsists by agriculture, a plentiful harvest is celebrated in the rustic song of the husbandman. The *Versus Fescennini*, mentioned by Livy, were probably of the nature of poetical dialogue, or alternate verses sung by the labourers, in a strain of coarse merriment and raillery. This shows a dawning of the drama.

2. About the 390th year of Rome, on occasion of a pestilence *Ludiones* (drolls or stage dancers) were brought from Etruria, *qui ad tibicinis modos saltantes, haud indecoros motus more Tusco dabant.* Livy tells us, that the Roman youth imitated these performances, and added to them rude and jocular verses, probably the Fescennine dialogues. It was not, however, till the year 514 A. U. C. that the regular drama was introduced at Rome from Greece by Livius Andronicus. The earliest Roman plays were therefore, we may presume, translations from the Greek.

Post Punica bella quietus quaerere cepit,
Quid Sophocles, et Thespis, et Æschylus utile ferrent.

3. Of the early Roman drama Ennius was a great ornament, and from his time the art made rapid advancement. The comedies of Plautus, the cotemporary of Ennius, with great strength and spirit of dialogue, display a considerable knowledge of human nature, and are read at this day with pleasure.

4. Caecilius improved so much on the comedy of Plautus, that he is mentioned by Cicero as perhaps the best of the Roman comic writers. Of his compositions we have no remains. His patronage fostered the rising genius of Terence, whose first comedy, the *Andria*, was performed A. U. C. 587. The merit of the comedies of Terence lies in that nature and simplicity which are observable alike in the structure of his fables, and in the delineation of his characters, and in the delicacy and purity of the sentiments of his pieces. They are deficient, however, in comic energy; they are not calculated to excite ludicrous emotions. They are chiefly borrowed from the Greek of Menander and Apollodorus.

5. The Roman Comedy was of four different species: the *Comaedia Togata* or *Praetextata*, the *Comedia Tabernaria*, the *Attel-*

lan e, and the *Mimi*. The first admitted serious scenes and personages, and was of the nature of the modern sentimental comedy. The second was a representation of ordinary life and manners. The *Attellanae* were pieces where the dialogue was not committed to writing, but the subject of the scene was prescribed, and the dialogue filled up by the talents of the actors. The *Mimi* were pieces of comedy of the lowest species; farces, or entertainments of buffoonery; though sometimes admitting the serious, and even the pathetic.

6. The Roman tragedy kept pace in its advancement with the comedy. The best of the Roman tragic poets were Actius and Pacuvius, of whom we have no remains. The tragedies published under the name of Seneca are generally esteemed the work of different hands. They are none of them of superlative merit.

7. Velleius Paterculus remarks, that the aera of the perfection of Roman literature was the age of Cicero; comprehending all of the preceding times whom Cicero might have seen, and all of the succeeding who might have

seen him. Cicero, Quintilian, and Pliny, celebrate, in high terms, the writings of the elder Cato, whose principal works were historical, and have entirely perished. We have his fragments, *de Re Rustica*, in which he was imitated by Varro, one of the earliest of the good writers among the Romans, and a man of universal erudition. Of the variety of his talents we may judge, not only from the splendid Eulogium of Cicero, but from the circumstance of Pliny having recourse to his authority in every book of his Natural History.

8. Sallust, in order of time, comes next to Varro. This writer introduced an important improvement on history, as treated by the Greek historians, by applying (as Dionysius of Halicarnassus says) the science of philosophy to the study of facts. Sallust is therefore to be considered as the father of philosophic history; a species of writing which has been so successfully cultivated in modern times. He is an admirable writer for the matter of his compositions, which evince great judgment and knowledge of human nature; but by no means commendable for his style

and manner of writing. He affects singularity of expression, an antiquated phraseology, and a petulant brevity and sententiousness, which has nothing of the dignity of the historical style.

9. Caesar has much more purity of style, and more correctness and simplicity of expression; but his Commentaries, wanting that amplitude of diction and fulness of illustration which is essential to history, are rather of the nature of annals.

10. In all the requisites of an historian, Livy stands unrivalled among the Romans; possessing consummate judgment in the selection of facts, perspicuity of arrangement, sagacious reflection, sound views of policy, with the most copious, pure, and eloquent expression. It has been objected, that his speeches derogate from the truth of history; but this was a prevalent taste with the ancient writers; and as those speeches are always known to be the composition of the historian, the reader is not misled. As to the style of Livy, though in general excellent, we sometimes perceive in it, and most commonly in the speeches, an affectation of the

the pointed sentences (the *vibrantes sententiolae*) and obscurity of the declaimers, which evinces the pernicious influence acquired by those teachers at Rome since the time of Cicero and Sallust.

11. In the decline of Roman literature, Tacitus is an historian of no common merit. He successfully cultivated the method pointed out by Sallust, of applying philosophy to history. In this he displays great knowledge of human nature, and penetrates, with singular acuteness, into the secret springs of policy, and the motives of actions. But his fault is, that he is too much of a politician, drawing his characters after the model of his own mind; ever assigning actions and events to preconceived scheme and design, and allowing too little for the operation of accidental causes, which often have the greatest influence on human affairs. Tacitus, in his style, professedly imitated that of Sallust; adopting all the ancient phraseology, as well as the new idioms introduced into the Roman language by that writer. To his brevity and abruptness, he added most of the faults of the declaiming school. His expression, therefore,

though extremely forcible, is often enigmatically obscure; the very worst property that style can possess.

12. Among the eminent Roman poets (after the dramatic), Lucretius deserves first to be noticed. He has great inequality, being at some times verbose, rugged, and perplexed, and at others displaying all the elegance as well as the fire of poetry. This may be in great part attributed to his subject. Philosophical disquisition is unsuitable to poetry. It demands a dry precision of thought and expression, rejecting all excursive fancy and ornament of diction. That luxuriance of imagery, which is the soul of poetry, is raving and impertinence when applied to philosophy.

13. Catullus, the cotemporary of Lucretius, is the earliest of the Roman Lyric poets. His Epigrams are pointed and satirical, but too licentious; his Idylla tender, natural, and picturesque. He flourished in the age of Julius Caesar.

14. In the succeeding age of Augusus, poetry attained to its highest elevation among

the Romans. Virgil, Horace, Ovid, and Tibullus, were all cotemporaries. Virgil is allowed the same rank among the Roman poets as Homer among the Greek. If Homer excels him in the sublime, he surpasses the Greek in the tender and the elegant. The transcendent merits of Homer are sullied by occasional defects; Virgil is the model of a correct taste. The difference of manner in the Bucolics, the Georgics, and the Æneid, shows that Virgil was capable of excelling in various departments of poetry; and such is the opinion of Martial, who affirms, that he could have surpassed Horace in Lyric poetry, and Varius in Tragedy.

15. Horace excels as a Lyric poet, a satirist, and a critic. In his Odes there is more variety than in those of either Anacreon or Pindar; and he can alternately display the sublimity of the one, and the jocose vein of the other. His Satires have that characteristic slyness and obliquity of censure, associated with humour and pleasantry, which strongly distinguish them from the stern and cutting sarcasm of Juvenal. As a critic, his rules are taken chiefly from Aristotle; but they con-

tain the elements of a just taste in poetical composition, and therefore do not admit of variation. The Satires of Juvenal, compared with those of Horace, are deficient in facetiousness and urbanity; but they are superior in acuteness of thought, and in manly vigour of sentiment.

16. In variety of talent, without supreme excellence, and ease and elegance of numbers, no Roman poet has exceeded Ovid. In his Metamorphoses particularly, with great fancy, we have specimens of the pathetic, the descriptive, the eloquent, and even the sublime. His Elegies have more of nature and of real passion than those of either Tibullus or Propertius. His amatory verses have much tenderness, but are too frequently loose, and even grossly licentious.

17. There is nothing more elegant than the compositions of Tibullus, nothing more delicate than the turn of his expression; but it is not the language of passion. The sentiments are tender, but their power of affecting the heart is weakened by the visible care and solicitude of the poet for refined phraseology and polished numbers; nor is there either

much fancy or variety of thought. A single elegy exhibits the sentiments of the whole.

18. Martial is the last of the Roman poets who can be mentioned with high approbation. His Epigrams, independent of their art and ingenuity, are valuable, as throwing light upon the Roman manners. He possesses, above every other poet, a *naiveté* of expression, which is chiefly observable in his serious Epigrams. He is well characterized by the younger Pliny, *ingeniosus, acer, et qui in scribendo et salis haberet et fellis, nec candoris minus.* Epist. 3. 21.

19. Luxuriance of ornament, and the fondness for points, and brilliancy of thought and expression, are certain indications of the decline of good taste. These characters strongly mark the Latin poets of the succeeding ages. Lucan has some scattered examples of genuine poetic imagery, and Persius some happy strokes of animated satire; but they scarcely compensate the affected obscurity of the one, and the bombast of the other. The succeeding poets, Statius, Silius Italicus, and Valerius Flaccus, in their attempts at the most difficult of all species of poetry, the

Epic, have only more signally displayed the inferiority of their genius, and the manifest decay of the art.

XXXVII.

STATE OF PHILOSOPHY AMONG THE ROMANS.

1. THE Romans, in the earlier periods of the republic, had little leisure to bestow on the cultivation of the sciences, and had no idea of philosophical speculation. It was not till the end of the 6th century from the building of the city, and in the interval between the war with Perseus and the third Punic war, that philosophy made its first appearance at Rome. A few learned Achaeans, banished from their country, had settled in various parts of Italy, and applying themselves to the cultivation of literature and the education of youth, diffused a taste for those studies hitherto unknown to the Romans. The elder citizens regarded these pursuits with an unfavour-

able eye. Jealous of the introduction of foreign manners with foreign studies, the senate banished the Greek philosophers from Rome. But an Athenian embassy, arriving soon after, brought thither Carneades and Critolaus, who revived the taste for the Greek philosophy, and left behind them many able disciples, who publicly taught their doctrines.

2. It was natural that those systems should be most generally adopted which were most suitable to the national character. While the manners of the Romans had yet a tincture of ancient severity, the Stoical system prevailed. Scipio, Laelius, and the younger Cato, rank among its chief partisans.

3. The philosophy of Aristotle was little known in Rome till the age of Cicero. Cratippus and Tyrannion then taught his system with great reputation. Yet Cicero complains that the Peripatetic philosophy was little understood at Rome; and, on that account, he sent his son to study its doctrines in the schools of Athens.

4. Lucullus, whose stay in Greece gave him an opportunity of being acquainted with all the different sects, disseminated, on his return

to Rome, a very general taste for philosophy. His patronage of learned men, and his liberality in allowing his library to be open for the public use, contributed greatly to the promotion of literature.

5. The Old and New Academy had each their partisans. Of the former, which may be termed the Stoico-Platonic, the most illustrious disciples were Marcus Brutus and Terentius Varro. To the philosophical talents of Brutus, and the universal erudition of Varro, the writings of Cicero bear the most ample testimony. Cicero himself must be deemed the most eminent of all the Roman philosophers. He is classed among the principal supporters of the New Academy; though it seems rather to have been his purpose to elucidate the Greek philosophy in general, than to rank himself among the disciples of any particular sect.

6. The cultivation of Physics, or Natural Philosophy, seems to have been little attend ed to either by the Greeks or Romans. Un less Agriculture should be classed under this description, we know of no Roman authors, except Varro and the elder Pliny, who seem

to have bestowed much attention on the operations of nature. The works of the former have perished, except a few fragments; but the Natural History of Pliny is a most valuable storehouse of the knowledge of the ancients in Physics, Œconomics, and the Arts and Sciences. It is to be regretted that the style is unsuitable to the matter, being too frequently florid, declamatory, and obscure.

7. The philosophy of Epicurus was unknown in the early ages of the Roman commonwealth. It was introduced with luxury, and kept pace in its advancement with the corruption of manners. Cineas having discoursed on the tenets of Epicurus at the table of Pyrrhus, Fabricius exclaimed, May the enemies of Rome ever entertain such principles! Yet these principles were, in a short time from that period, but too current among her own citizens.

XXXVIII.

OF THE PUBLIC AND PRIVATE MANNERS OF THE ROMANS.

1. The manners of the Romans in the early ages of the republic were so different from those of the latter times, that one should be led to suppose some very extraordinary causes to have co-operated to produce so remarkable a change: yet the transition is easy to be accounted for. A spirit of temperance, of frugality, and probity, is the characteristic of every infant establishment. A virtuous simplicity of manners, and a rigour of military discipline, paved the way for the extension of the Roman arms, and for their prodigious conquests: these conquests introduced wealth, luxury, and corruption.

2. In the early times, the patricians, when in the country, forgot the distinction of ranks, and laboured in the cultivation of their fields, like the meanest plebeians. We have the ex-

amples of Cincinnatus, Curius, the elder Cato, and Scipio Africanus. The town was visited only every ninth or market-day. In those times of virtuous simplicity, says Sallust, *Domi militiaeque boni mores colebantur.—Duabus artibus, audacia in bello, ubi pax evenerat, aequitate, seque remque publicam curabant.* But when, in consequence of this very discipline, and these manners, the Romans had extended their dominion, they imported with the wealth of the conquered nations their tastes, their manners, and their vices.

3. The Romans had no natural taste in the fine arts. On the conquest of Greece, an immense field opened at once to their eyes, and the masterpieces of art poured in upon them in abundance. But their excellencies they could not appretiate. The Roman luxury, so far as the arts were concerned, was in general displayed in an awkward, heavy, and tasteless magnificence.

4. The public and private life of the Romans will be best elucidated by a short account of the manner in which the day was passed at Rome, both by the higher and lower ranks of the people. The morning hours

were spent by a part of the citizens in visiting the temples; by others in attending the levees of the great. The *Clientes* waited on their *Patroni*; the patricians visited each other, or paid their compliments to the leaders of the republic. Popularity was always the first object of ambition at Rome, as paving the way to all advancement. From the levee they proceeded to the form, either to assist in the public business, or for amusement. There the time was spent till noon, the hour of dinner among the Romans, chiefly a very light repast, and of which it was not customary to invite any guests to partake. After dinner the youth repaired to the Campus Martius, where they occupied themselves in athletic exercises and sports till sunset. The elder class retired for an hour to repose, and then passed the afternoon in their porticoes, galleries, or libraries, where they enjoyed the conversation of their friends, or heard recitations of literary works: others repaired to the theatres, or to the shows of the circus and amphitheatre.

5. Combats of gladiators were introduced for the first time about the 490th year of the ci-

ty, and soon became a most favourite amusement, as did the combats with wild beasts. The spirit of luxury, which in general is not unfavourable to humanity, showed its progress among the Romans by an increasing ferocity and inhumanity of the public spectacles. Theatrical entertainments were in high request. See *supra*, Sect. XXXVI. § 2, 3, 4, 5, 6. The taste for pantomime came to such a height, that the art was taught in public schools, and the nobility and people were divided into parties in favour of the rival performers: an abuse which called at length for the interposition of the laws.

6. From the porticoes, or from the theatre and amphitheatre, it was customary to go to the baths, of which there were many for the use of the public, while the rich had them in their own houses, vying with each other in this as in every other article of luxury or magnificence. From the bath they went immediately to supper, generally about the ninth or tenth hour, counting from sunrise. At table they reclined on couches. The luxury of the Roman suppers far exceeded every thing known among the moderns. An *antecoenium*

of pickles and spices was presented to prepare and sharpen the appetite. Cookery became a science. The number and costliness of the dishes were incredible. The entertainment was heightened by every thing gratifying to the senses; by male and female dancers, musicians, pantomimes, and even shows of gladiators.

7. In the end of the republic, pleasure and amusement were the darling objects of all ranks of the citizens: they sought no more than *panem et circenses*.

XXXIX.

OF THE ART OF WAR AMONG THE ROMANS.

1. FROM the prodigious success which attended the arms of the Romans, and that dominion they acquired over the greatest part of the known world, it seems a natural inference, that they must have carried the military art to a higher degree of perfection than any

other of the cotemporary nations. Vegetius expressly assigns their extensive conquests to that cause alone. It is the discipline of an army that makes the multitude act as one man. It likewise increases the courage of troops; for each individual confides in the steady co-operation of his fellows.

2. From the constant practice of athletic exercises, the Romans were inured from infancy to hardiness and fatigue, and bred to that species of life which a soldier leads in the most active campaign in the field.

3. The levies were made annually, by the tribes called out, and divided into their respective number of centuries; each century presenting by rotation as many soldiers as there were legions intended to be raised; and the tribunes of the several legions taking their turn by rotation in the selection of the men presented by the centuries. See *supra*, Sect. XXIV. § 16. The number of soldiers in the legion was various at different periods, from 3000 to 10,000 and 11,000.

Among the ancient nations there were usually but two different arrangements of the troops in order of battle. The one the Pha-

lanx, or close arrangement in parallelogram, intersected only by great divisions; a disposition commonly used by the Greeks, and by most of the barbarous nations. The other the Quincunx, or Chequer, consisting of small companies or platoons, disposed in three straight lines, with alternate spaces between them equal to the space occupied by each company. In the first line were the *Hastati*, in the second the *Principes*, and in the third the *Triarii*. On the flanks of the first line were the cavalry, likewise in detached companies; and in front of the line were the *Velites*, or light-armed troops, who usually began by a skirmishing attack, and then were withdrawn to make way for the main body to come into action. The arms of the legion were, for the *hastati* and *principes*, the *pilum* or heavy javelin, and the sword and buckler; and for the *triarii*, the long spear, with the sword and buckler. The advantages of this arrangement were, that the line of battle could be three times formed with fresh troops, and that it was more fitted than any other for rapid changes of movement.

5. Notwithstanding these advantages, the *quincunx* went into disuse towards the end of the republic, and from that time various arrangements of the legion were used according to circumstances. The tactic of the Romans is supposed to have been at its greatest pitch of excellence during the Punic wars. Hannibal was a great master of the science, and the Romans profited by the experience of his ability. The battle of Cannae, as described by Polybius, affords signal evidence of the great talents of the Carthaginian general. That description has been misrepresented by Folard, but is accurately explained in the *Memoires Militaires* of M. Guischardt. Had the quincunx disposition been kept by the Roman army in that engagement, the event might have been very different, as it would have disappointed the effect of an artful manoeuvre planned by Hannibal, on observing his enemy's army arranged in the unusual order of the phalanx.

6. The art of intrenchment was carried to great perfection by the Romans, particularly by Julius Caesar. With 60,000 men he defended himself in his intrenchments before

Alexia, while the lines of circumvallation were attacked by 240,000 Gauls, and the lines of countervallation by 80,000, without effect. These intrenchments consisted of a ditch from nine to fifteen feet in depth and width, fenced on the inside by the mound of excavated earth, and on the outside by strong stakes with pointed branches.

7. In besieging a town, several camps were formed around the place, joined to each other by lines of circumvallation and countervallation. A mound of earth *(agger)* was raised, beginning by a gentle slope from one of the camps, and gradually rising in elevation as it approached the city. The front, where the workmen were employed, was defended by a curtain of hides fixed on strong posts. On this mound the engines of attack, *Catapultae* for the discharge of heavy stones, and *Balistae* for arrows, were advanced, till they played on the very spot which the besiegers wished to assail. The same machines were used by the besieged for annoying the enemy. When the batteries from the terrace had silenced those on the walls, the battering-ram (*aries*) was then brought up under a pent-house

(*testudo*), and, if it once reached the wall, was generally decisive of the fate of the town. The main object of the besieged was therefore to prevent its approach by every power of annoyance. Stones, darts, and combustible matters, were continually launched upon the assailants; and sometimes a mine was dug from the city to scoop away the terrace and all its engines.—These arts of attack and defence of fortified places were in general use among the nations of antiquity, and continued down to modern times, till the invention of gunpowder.

8. The naval military art was utterly unknown among the Romans till the first Punic war. A Carthaginian galley was the first model; and in the space of two months they equipped a fleet of 100 gallies of five banks of oars, and 20 of three banks. The structure of these gallies, and the mode of arranging the rowers, may be learned from the ancient sculptures and medals. The combatants at sea assailed at a distance with javelins, missile combustibles, and sometimes with *catapultae* and *balistae*; but the serious attack was made in boarding, when the vessels grappled to-

gether by means of a crane let down from the prow.

9. In the times of the empire, the Romans maintained their distant conquests, not only by their armies, but by their fleets, which were moored in the large rivers and bays, and generally preserved a fixed station, as did the legions.

XL.

REFLECTIONS ARISING FROM A VIEW OF THE ROMAN HISTORY DURING THE COMMONWEALTH.

1. THE history of all nations evinces, that there is an inseperable connexion between the morals of a people and their political prosperity. But we have no stronger demonstration of this truth than the annals of the Roman commonwealth. To limit to republics alone the necessity of virtue as a principle, is a chimerical notion, fraught with

dangerous consequences. *Quid leges sine moribus vanae proficiunt*, is a sentiment equally applicable to all governments whatever; and no political system, however excellent its fabric, can possess any measure of duration, without that powerful cement, virtue, in the principles and manners of the people. *Supra*, Sect. XIX. § 4.

2. The love of our country, and the desire for its rational liberty, are noble and virtuous feelings, and their prevalence is ever a test of the integrity of the national morals. But there is no term which has been more prostituted than the word liberty. Among a corrupted people, the cry for liberty is heard the loudest among the most profligate of the community. With these its meaning has no relation to patriotism; it imports no more than the aversion to restraint; and the personal character of the demagogue, and the private morals of his disciples, are always sufficient to unmask the counterfeit. The spirit of patriotism and a general corruption of manners cannot possibly be coexistent in the same age and nation.

3. On the other hand, while the morals of a people are pure, no public misfortune is irretrievable, nor any political situation so desperate, that hope may not remain of a favourable change. In such situations, the spirit of patriotism pervading all ranks of the state will soon recover the national prosperity. The history of the Roman people, and that of the Grecian states, in various crises, both of honour and of disgrace, afford proofs alike of this position and of its converse.

4. The national character of the Romans seems to have undergone its most remarkable change for the worse from the time of the destruction of their rival, Carthage. Sallust assigns the cause: *Ante Carthaginem deletam,——metus hostilis in bonis artibus civitatem retinebat. Sed ubi illa formido mentibus decessit, scilicet ea quae secundae res amant, lascivia atque superbia invasere.*

5. In the last ages of the commonwealth, avarice and ambition, unrestrained by moral principle, were the chief motives of the Roman conquests. It was sufficient reason for going to war, that a country offered a tempt-

ing object to the rapacity and ambition of the military leaders. The conquest of Italy paved the way for the reduction of foreign nations. Hence the Romans imported, with their wealth, the manners, the luxuries, and the vices of the nations they subdued. The generals returned not as formerly, after a successful war, to the labours of the field, and to a life of temperance and industry. They were now the governors of kingdoms and provinces; and at the period of their command abroad, disdaining the restraints of a subject, they could be satisfied with nothing less than sovereignty at home. The armies, debauched by the plunder of kingdoms, were completely disposed to support them in all their schemes of ambition; and the populace, won by corruption, always took part with the chief who best could pay for their favour and support. Force or bribery overruled every election; and the inhabitants of distant states, now holding the right of citizens, were brought to Rome, at the command of the demagogue, to influence any popular contest, and turn the scale in his favour. In a government thus irretrievably destroyed by the de-

cay of those springs which supported it, it was of little consequence by the hands of what particular tyrant, usurper, or demagogue, its ruin was finally accomplished.

6. From the consideration of the rise and fall of the principal states of antiquity, it has been a commonly received observation, that the constitution of empires has, like the human body, a period of growth, maturity, decline, and extinction. But arguments from analogy are extremely deceiving, and particularly so when the analogy is from physical to moral truths. The human body is, from its fabric, naturally subject to decay, and is perpetually undergoing a change from time. The organs, at first weak, attain gradually their perfect strength, and thence, by a similar gradation, proceed to decay and dissolution. This is an immutable law of its nature. But the springs of the body politic do not necessarily undergo a perpetual change from time. It is not regularly progressive from weakness to strength, and thence to decay and dissolution; nor is it under the influence of any principle of corruption which may not be checked, and even eradicated, by whole-

some laws. Thus the beginning of the corruption of Sparta is attributed to the breach by Lysander of the institutions of Lycurgus, in introducing gold into the treasury of the state instead of her iron money. But was this a necessary or an unavoidable measure? Perhaps a single vote in the senate decreed its adoption, and therefore another suffrage might have saved or long postponed the downfal of the commonwealth. The Roman republic owed its dissolution to the extension of its dominions. Had it been a capital crime for any Roman citizen to have proposed to carry the arms of the republic beyond the limits of Italy, its constitution might have been preserved for many ages beyond the period of its actual duration. "Accustom your "mind," said Phocion to Aristias, "to discern, in the fate of nations, that recompence which the great Author of nature has "annexed to the practice of virtue. No state "ever ceased to be prosperous, but in consequence of having departed from those institutions to which she owed her prosperity." History indeed has shown, that all states and empires have had their period of

duration; but history, instructing us in the the causes which have produced their decline and downfal, inculcates also this salutary lesson, that they themselves are in general the masters of their destiny, and that all nations may, and most certainly ought to aspire at immortality.

7. It was a great *desideratum* in ancient politics, that a government should possess within itself the power of periodical reformation; a capacity of checking any overgrowth of authority in any of its branches, and of winding up the machine, or bringing back the constitution to its first principles. To the want of such a power in the states of antiquity, which was ineffectually endeavoured to be supplied by such partial contrivances as the Ostracism and Petalism, we may certainly ascribe in no small degree the decay of those states; for in their governments, when the balance was once destroyed, the evil grew worse from day to day, and admitted of no remedy but a revolution, or entire change of the system.—The British constitution possesses this inestimable advantage over all the governments both of ancient and of modern

times. Besides the perpetual power of reform vested in Parliament, the constitution may be purified of every abuse, and brought back to its first principles, at the commencement of every reign. But of this we shall afterwards treat in its proper place.

XLI.

ROME UNDER THE EMPERORS.

1. THE battle of Actium decided the fate of the commonwealth, and Octavius, now named Augustus, was master of the Roman empire. He possessed completely the sagacity of discerning what character was best fitted for gaining the affections of the people he governed, and the versatility of temper and genius to assume it. His virtues, though the result of policy, not of nature, were certainly favourable to the happiness, and even to the liberties of his subjects. The fate of Caesar warned him of the insecurity of an usurped dominion; and therefore, while he studiously imitated the engaging manners and

clemency of his great predecessor, he affected a much higher degree of moderation and respect for the rights of the people.

2. The temple of Janus was shut, which had been open for 188 years, since the beginning of the second Punic war; an event productive of universal joy. "The Romans (says "Condillac) now believed themselves a free "people, since they had no longer to fight "for their liberty." The sovereign kept up this delusion, by maintaining the ancient forms of the republican constitution, in the election of magistrates, &c. though they were nothing more than forms. He even pretended to consider his own function as merely a temporary administration for the public benefit. Invested with the consulate and censorship, he went through the regular forms of periodical election to those offices, and at the end of the seventh year of his government actually announced to the senate his resignation of all authority. The consequence was a general supplication of the senate and people, that he would not abandon the republic, which he had saved from destruction. "Since "it must be so (said he), I accept the empire

" for ten years, unless the public tranquillity " should before that time permit me to enjoy " that retirement I passionately long for." He repeated the same mockery five times in the course of his government, accepting the administration sometimes for ten, and sometimes only for five years.

3. It was much to the credit of Augustus, that in the government of the empire he reposed unlimited confidence in Mecaenas, a most able minister, who had sincerely at heart the interest and happiness of the people. It was by his excellent counsels that all public affairs were conducted, and the most salutary laws enacted for the remedy of public grievances, and even the correction of the morals of the people. It was to his patronage that literature and the arts owed their encouragement and advancement. It was by his influence and wise instructions that Augustus assumed those virtues to which his heart was a stranger, and which, in their tendency to the happiness of his subjects, were equally effectual as if the genuine fruits of his nature.

4. On the death of Marcellus, the nephew and son-in-law of Augustus, (23. A. C.) a

prince of great hopes, the Emperor bestowed his chief favour on Marcus Agrippa, giving him his daughter Julia, the widow of Marcellus, in marriage. Agrippa had considerable military talents, and was successful in accomplishing the reduction of Spain, and subduing the revolted provinces of Asia. Augustus associated him with himself in the office of censor, and would probably have given him a share of the empire; but the death of Agrippa occasioned a new arrangement. The daughter of Augustus now took for her third husband Tiberius, who became the son-in-law of the Emperor by a double tie, for Augustus had previously married his mother Livia. This artful woman, removing all of the imperial family who stood betwixt her and the object of ambition, thus made room for the succession of her son Tiberius, who, on his part, bent all his attention to gain the favour and confidence of Augustus. On the return of Tiberius from a successful campaign against the Germans, the people were made to solicit the Emperor to confer on him the government of the provinces and the command of the ar-

mies. Augustus now gradually withdrew himself from the cares of empire. He died soon after at Nola, in Campania, in the 76th year of his age, and 44th of his imperial reign, A. U. C. 767, and A. D. 14.

5. A considerable part of the lustre thrown on the reign of Augustus is owing to the splendid colouring bestowed on his character by the poets and other authors who adorned his court, and repaid his favours by their adulation. Assuredly other sovereigns of much higher merits have been less fortunate in obtaining the applause of posterity:

——— Illacrymabiles
Urgentur, ignotique longa
Nocte, carent quia vate sacro.

One great event distinguished the reign of Augustus, the birth of our Lord and Saviour JESUS CHRIST, which, according to the best authorities, happened in the 754th year A. U. C. and four years before the vulgar date of the Christian aera*.

* *Vide* Dr Playfair's System of Chronology, p. 49, 50. a work of great research and accuracy, and by far the best on that subject.

5. Augustus had named Tiberius his heir, together with his mother Livia, and substituted to them Drusus, the son of Tiberius, and Germanicus. Tiberius was vicious, debauched, and cruel; yet the very dread of his character operated in securing an easy succession to the empire. An embassy from the senate entreated him to accept the government, which he modestly affected to decline, but suffered himself to be won by their supplications. Notwithstanding these symptoms of moderation, it soon appeared that the power enjoyed by his predecessor was too limited for the ambition of Tiberius. It was not enough that the substance of the republic was gone, the very appearance of it was now to be demolished. The people were no longer assembled, and the magistrates of the state were supplied by the imperial will.

6. Germanicus, the nephew of Tiberius, became the object of his jealousy, from the glory he had acquired by his military exploits in Germany, and the high favour in which he stood with the Roman people. He was recalled in the midst of his successes, and dis-

patched to the oriental provinces, where he soon after died, as was generally believed, of poison, administered by the Emperor's command.

7. Ælius Sejanus, praefect of the praetorian guards, the favourite counsellor of Tiberius, and the obsequious minister of his tyranny and crimes, conceived the daring project of a revolution, which should place himself on the throne, by the extermination of the whole imperial family. Drusus, the son of the Emperor, was cut off by poison. Agrippina, the widow of Germanicus, with the elder of her sons, was banished, and the younger confined to prison. Tiberius himself was persuaded by Sejanus, under the pretence of the discovery of plots for his assassination, to retire from Rome to the Isle of Capreae, and devolve the government upon his faithful minister. But while Sejanus, thus far successful, meditated the last step to the accomplishment of his wishes, by the murder of his sovereign, his treason was detected; and the Emperor dispatched his mandate to the senate, which was followed by his immediate sentence and exe-

cution. The public indignation was not satisfied with his death: the populace tore his body to pieces, and flung it into the Tiber.

8. Tiberius now became utterly negligent of the cares of government, and the imperial power was displayed only in public executions, confiscations, and scenes of cruelty and rapine. At length the tyrant falling sick was strangled in his bed by Macro, the praefect of the praetorian guards, in the 78th year of his age, and 23d of his reign.

9. In the 18th year of Tiberius, our Lord and Saviour JESUS CHRIST, the Divine Author of our religion, suffered death upon the Cross, a sacrifice and propitiation for the sins of mankind, A. D. 33.

10. Tiberius had nominated for his heir Caligula, the son of Germanicus, his grandson by adoption, and joined with him Tiberius, the son of Drusus, his grandson by blood. The former enjoyed, on his father's account, the favour of the people; and the senate, to gratify them, set aside the right of his col-

league, and conferred on him the empire undivided. The commencement of his reign was signalized by a few acts of clemency, and even good policy. He restored the privileges of the comitia, and abolished arbitrary prosecutions for crimes of state. But, tyrannical and cruel by nature, he substituted military execution for legal punishment. The provinces were loaded with the most oppressive taxes, and daily confiscations filled the imperial coffers. The follies and absurdities of Caligula were equal to his vices, and it is hard to say whether he was most the object of hatred or of contempt to his subjects. He perished by assassination in the 4th year of his reign, and 29th of his age, A. U. C. 794, A. D. 42.

11. Claudius, the uncle of Caligula, was saluted Emperor by the praetorian guards, who had been the murderers of his nephew. He was the son of Octavia, the sister of Augustus; a man of weak intellects, and of no education; yet his short reign was marked by an enterprise of importance. He undertook the reduction of Britain; and, after vi-

siting the island in person, left his generals, Plautius and Vespasian, to prosecute a war which was carried on for several years with various success. The Silures, or inhabitants of South Wales, under their king Caractacus (Caradoc), made a brave resistance, but were finally defeated, and Caractacus led captive to Rome, where the magnanimity of his demeanour procured him respect and admiration.

12. The civil administration of Claudius was weak and contemptible. He was the slave even of his domestics, and the dupe of his infamous wives, Messalina and Agrippina. The former, abandoned to the most shameful profligacy, was at length put to death, on suspicion of treasonable designs. The latter, who was the daughter of Germanicus, bent her utmost endeavours to secure the succession to the empire to her son Domitius Oenobardus, and employed every engine of vice and inhumanity to remove the obstacles to the accomplishment of her wishes. Having at length prevailed on Claudius to adopt her son, and confer on him the title of Caesar, to the exclusion of his own son Britannicus, she now

made room for the immediate elevation of Domitius, by poisoning her husband. Claudius was put to death in the 15th year of his reign, and 63d of his age.

XLII.

1. The son of Agrippina assumed the title of Nero Claudius. He had enjoyed the benefit of a good education under the philosopher Seneca, but reaped from his instructions no other fruit than a pedantic affectation of taste and learning, with no real pretension to either. While controlled by his tutor Seneca, and by Burrhus, captain of the praetorian guards, a man of worth and ability, Nero maintained for a short time a decency of public conduct; but the restraint was intolerable, and nature soon broke out. His real character was a compound of every thing that is base and inhuman. In the murder of his mother Agrippina, he revenged the crime she had committed in raising him to the throne; he rewarded the fidelity of Burrhus by poisoning him; and as a last kindness to his tu-

tor Seneca, he allowed him to choose the mode of his death. It was his darling amusement to exhibit on the stage and amphitheatre as an actor, musician, or gladiator. At length, become the object of universal hatred and contempt, a rebellion of his subjects, headed by Vindex, an illustrious Gaul, hurled this monster from the throne. He had not courage to attempt resistance; and a slave, at his own request, dispatched him with a dagger. Nero perished in the 30th year of his age, after a reign of fourteen years, A. D. 69.

2. Galba, the successor of Nero, was of an ancient and illustrious family. He was in the 73d year of his age when the senate, ratifying the choice of the praetorian bands, proclaimed him Emperor. But an impolitic rigour of discipline soon disgusted the army; the avarice of his disposition, grudging the populace their favourite games and spectacles, deprived him of their affections; and some iniquitous prosecutions and confiscations excited general discontent and mutiny. Galba adopted and designed for his successor the able and virtuous Piso; a measure which excited the

jealousy of Otho, his former favourite, and led him to form the daring plan of raising himself to the throne by the destruction of both. He found the praetorians apt to his purpose; they proclaimed him Emperor, and presented him, as a grateful offering, the heads of Galba and Piso, who were slain in quelling the insurrection. Galba had reigned seven months, *Major privato visus* (says Tacitus), *dum privatus fuit, et omnium consensu capax imperii, nisi imperasset.*

3. Otho had a formidable rival in Vitellius, who had been proclaimed Emperor by his army in Germany. It is hard to say which of the competitors was, in point of abilities, the more despicable, or in character the more infamous. A decisive battle was fought at Bedriacum, near Mantua, where the army of Otho was defeated, and their commander, in a fit of despair, ended his life by his own hand, after a reign of three months, A. D. 70.

4. The reign of Vitellius was of eight months duration. He is said to have proposed Nero for his model, and it was just that he should resemble him in his fate. Vespasian, who had obtained from Nero the charge of the

war against the Jews, which he had conducted with ability and success, was proclaimed Emperor by his troops in the east; and a great part of Italy submitting to his generals, Vitellius meanly capitulated to save his life, by a resignation of the empire. The people, indignant at his dastardly spirit, compelled him to an effort of resistance, but the attempt was fruitless. Priscus, one of the generals of Vespasian, took possession of Rome, and Vitellius was massacred, and his body flung into the Tiber.

5. Vespasian, though of mean descent, was worthy of the empire, and reigned with high popularity for ten years. He possessed great clemency of disposition; his manners were affable and engaging, and his mode of life was characterized by simplicity and frugality. He respected the ancient forms of the constitution, restored the senate to its deliberative rights, and acted by its authority in the administration of all public affairs. The only blemish in his character was a tincture of avarice, and even that is greatly extenuated by the laudable and patriotic use which he made of his revenues.—Under his reign, and

by the arms of his son Titus, was terminated the war against the Jews. They had been brought under the yoke of Rome by Pompey, who took Jerusalem. Under Augustus they were governed for some time by Herod as viceroy; but the tyranny of his son Archelaus was the cause of his banishment, and the reduction of Judaea into the ordinary condition of a Roman province. Rebelling on every slight occasion, Nero had sent Vespasian to reduce them to order, and he had just prepared for the siege of Jerusalem, when he was called to Rome to assume the government of the empire. Titus wished to spare the city, and tried every means to prevail on the Jews to surrender: But in vain; their ruin was decreed by Heaven. After an obstinate blockade of six months, Jerusalem was taken by storm, the temple burnt to ashes, and the city buried in ruins.—The Roman empire was now in profound peace. Vespasian associated Titus in the imperial dignity, and soon after died, universally lamented, at the age of sixty-nine, A. D. 79.

6. The character of Titus was humane, munificent, dignified, and splendid. His short

reign was a period of great happiness and prosperity to the empire, and his government a constant example of virtue, justice, and beneficence. In his time happened that dreadful eruption of Vesuvius which overwhelmed the cities of Herculaneum and Pompeii; and the public losses from these calamities he repaired by the sacrifice of his fortune and revenues. He died in the third year of his reign, and fortieth of his age; ever to be remembered by that most exalted epithet, *Deliciae humani generis.*

7. Domitian, the brother of Titus, and suspected of murdering him by poison, succeeded to the empire, A. D. 81. He was a vicious and inhuman tyrant. A rebellion in Germany gave him occasion to signalize the barbarity of his disposition; and its consequences were long felt in the sanguinary punishments inflicted under the pretence of justice. The prodigal and voluptuous spirit of this reign was a singular contrast to its tyranny and inhumanity. The people were loaded with insupportable taxes to furnish spectacles and games for their amusement. The successes of Agricola in Britain threw a lustre on the Ro-

man arms, no part of which reflected on the Emperor, for he used this eminent commander with the basest ingratitude. After fifteen tedious years, this monster fell at last the victim of assassination, the Empress herself conducting the plot for his murder, A. D. 96.

8. Cocceius Nerva, a Cretan by birth, was chosen Emperor by the senate, from respect to the probity and virtues of his character; but too old for the burden of government, and of a temper too placid for the restraint of rooted corruptions and enormities, his reign was weak, inefficient, and contemptible. His only act of real merit as a sovereign, was the adoption of the virtuous Trajan as his successor. Nerva died, after a reign of sixteen months, A. D. 98.

9. Ulpius Trajanus possessed every talent and every virtue that can adorn a sovereign. Of great military abilities, and an indefatigable spirit of enterprise, he raised the Roman arms to their ancient splendour, and greatly enlarged the boundaries of the empire. He subdued the Dacians, conquered the Parthians, and brought under subjection Assyria, Mesopotamia, and Arabia Felix. Nor was

he less eminent in promoting the happiness of his subjects, and the internal prosperity of the empire. His largesses were humane and munificent. He was the friend and support of the virtuous indigent, and the liberal patron of every useful art and talent. His bounties were supplied by a well judged economy in his private fortune, and a wise administration of the public finances. In his own life he was a man of simple manners, modest, affable, fond of the familiar intercourse of his friends, and sensible to all the social and benevolent affections; in a word, meriting the sirname universally bestowed on him, *Trajanus Optimus*. He died at the age of sixty-three, after a glorious reign of nineteen years, A. D. 118.

10. Ælius Adrianus, nephew of Trajan, and worthy to fill his place, was chosen Emperor by the army in the east, and his title was acknowledged by all orders of the state. He adopted a policy different from that of his predecessor; and, judging the limits of the empire too extensive, abandoned all the conquests of Trajan, bounding the eastern provinces by the Euphrates. He visited in person the whole provinces of the Empire, re-

forming, in his progress, all abuses, relieving his subjects of every oppressive burden, rebuilding the ruined cities, and establishing every where a regular and mild administration under magistrates of approved probity and humanity. He gave a discharge to the indigent debtors of the state, and appointed liberal institutions for the education of the children of the poor. To the talents of an able politician he joined an excellent taste in the liberal arts; and his reign, which was of twenty-two years duration, was an aera both of public happiness and splendour. In the last year of his life he bequeathed to the empire a double legacy, in adopting and declaring for his immediate successor Titus Aurelius Antoninus, and substituting Annius Verus to succeed upon his death. These were the Antonines, who for forty years ruled the Roman empire with consummate wisdom, ability, and virtue. Adrian died, A. D. 138, at the age of sixty-two.

XLIII.

AGE OF THE ANTONINES, &c.

1. THE happiest reigns furnish the fewest events for the pen of history. Antoninus was the father of his people. He preferred peace to the ambition of conquest; yet in every necessary war the Roman arms had their wonted renown. The British province was enlarged by the conquests of Urbicus, and some formidable rebellions were subdued in Germany, Dacia, and the east. The domestic administration of the sovereign was dignified, splendid, and humane. With all the virtues of Numa, his love of religion, peace, and justice, he had the superior advantage of diffusing these blessings over a great portion of the world. He died at the age of seventy-four, after a reign of twenty-two years, A. D. 161.

2. Annius Verus assumed, at his accession, the name of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, and he bestowed on his brother Lucius Verus a joint administration of the empire. The former was as eminent for the worth and virtues of his character, as the latter was remarkable for profligacy, meanness, and vice. Marcus Aurelius was attached both by nature and education to the Stoical philosophy, which he has admirably taught and illustrated in his *Meditations;* and his own life was the best commentary on his precepts. The Parthians were repulsed in an attack upon the empire, and a rebellion of the Germans was subdued. In these wars the mean and worthless Verus brought disgrace upon the Roman name in every region where he commanded; but fortunately relieved the empire of its fears by an early death. The residue of the reign of Marcus Aurelius was a continued blessing to his subjects. He reformed the internal policy of the state, regulated the government of the provinces, and visited himself, for the purposes of beneficence, the most distant quarters of his dominions. "He appeared," says an ancient author, "like some benevolent deity,

"diffusing around him universal peace and "happiness." He died in Pannonia in the 59th year of his age, and 19th of his reign, A. D. 180.

3. Commodus, his most unworthy son, succeeded to the empire on his death. He resembled in character his mother Faustina, a woman infamous for all manner of vice, but who yet had passed with her husband Marcus for a paragon of virtue. Commodus had an aversion to every rational and liberal pursuit, and a fond attachment to the sports of the circus and amphitheatre, the hunting of wild beasts, and the combats of boxers and gladiators. The measures of this reign were as unimportant, as the character of the sovereign was contemptible. His concubine and some of his chief officers prevented their own destruction by assassinating the tyrant, in the 32d year of his age, and 13th of his reign, A. D. 193.

4. The praetorian guards gave the empire to Publius Helvius Pertinax, a man of mean birth, but who had risen to esteem by his virtues and military talents. He applied himself with zeal to the correction of abuses; but

the austerity of his government deprived him of the affections of a corrupted people. He had disappointed the army of a promised reward, and, after a reign of eighty-six days, was murdered in the imperial palace by the same hands which had placed him on the throne.

5. The empire was now put up to auction by the praetorians, and was purchased by Didius Julianus; while Pescenius Niger in Asia, Clodius Albinus in Britain, and Septimius Severus in Illyria, were each chosen Emperor by the troops they commanded. Severus marched to Rome; and the praetorians, on his approach, abandoned Didius, who had failed to pay the stipulated price for his elevation, and the senate formally deposed and put him to death. Severus, master of Rome, prepared to reduce the provinces which had acknowledged the sovereignty of Niger and Albinus; and these two rivals being successively subdued, the one lost his life in battle, and the other fell by his own hands. The administration of Severus was wise and equitable, but tinctured with despotic rigour. It

was his purpose to erect the fabric of absolute monarchy, and all his institutions operated with able policy to that end. He possessed eminent military talents; and it was a glorious boast of his, that having received the empire oppressed with foreign and domestic wars, he left it in profound, universal, and honourable peace. He carried with him into Britain his two sons, Caracalla and Geta, whose unpromising dispositions clouded his latter days. In this war the Caledonians under Fingal are said to have defeated, on the banks of the Carron, *Caracul*, the son of the king of the world. Severus died at York, in the 66th year of his age, after a reign of eighteen years, A. D. 211.

6. The mutual hatred of Caracalla and Geta was increassd by their association in the empire; and the former, with brutal inhumanity, caused his brother to be openly murdered in the arms of his mother. His reign, which was of six years duration, and one continued series of atrocities, was at length terminated by assassination, A. D. 217.

7. Those disorders in the empire which began with Commodus continued for about a

century, till the accession of Diocletian. That interval was filled by the reigns of Heliogabalus, Alexander Severus, Maximin, Gordian, Decius, Gallus, Valerianus, Gallienus, Claudius, Aurelianus, Tacitus, Probus, and Carus; a period of which the annals furnish neither amusement nor useful information. The single exception is the reign of Alexander Severus, a mild, beneficent, and enlightened prince, whose character shines the more from the contrast of those who preceded and followed him.

8. Diocletian began his reign A. D. 284, and introduced a new system of administration, dividing the empire into four governments, under as many princes. Maximian shared with him the title of Augustus, and Galerius and Constantius were declared Caesars. Each had his separate department or province, all nominally supreme, but in reality under the direction of the superior talents and authority of Diocletian; an unwise policy, which depended for its efficacy on individual ability alone. Diocletian and Maximian, trusting to the continuance of that order in the empire which their vigour had

established, retired from sovereignty, and left the government in the hands of the Caesars; but Constantine died soon after in Britain, and his son Constantius was proclaimed Emperor at York; though Galerius did not acknowledge his title. Maximian, however, having once more resumed the purple, bestowed on Constantine his daughter in marriage, and thus invested him with a double title to empire. On the death of Maximian and Galerius, Constantine had no other competitor than Maxentius, the son of the former, and the contest between them was decided by the sword. Maxentius fell in battle, and Constantine remained sole master of the empire.

9. The administration of Constantine was, in the beginning of his reign, mild, equitable, and politic. Though zealously attached to the Christian faith, he made no violent innovations on the religion of the state. He introduced order and economy into the civil government, and repressed every species of oppression and corruption. But his natural temper was severe and cruel, and the latter

part of his reign was as much deformed by intolerant zeal and sanguinary rigour, as the former had been remarkable for equity and benignity. From this unfavourable change of character, he lost the affections of his subjects: and, from a feeling probably of reciprocal disgust, he removed the seat of the Roman empire to Byzantium, now termed Constantinople. The Court followed the sovereign; the opulent proprietors were attended by their slaves and retainers; Rome was in a few years greatly depopulated, and the new capital swelled at once to enormous magnitude. It was characterized by eastern splendour, luxury, and voluptuousness; and the cities of Greece were despoiled for its embellishment. Of the internal policy of the empire we shall treat in the next section. In an expedition against the Persians, Constantine died at Nicomedia, in the 30th year of his reign, and 63d of his age, A. D. 337. In the time of Constantine the Goths had made several irruptions on the empire, and, though repulsed and beaten, began gradually to encroach on the provinces.

XLIV.

STATE OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE AT THE TIME OF CONSTANTINE.—HIS SUCCESSORS.

1. In lieu of the ancient republican distinctions, which were founded chiefly on personal merit, a rigid subordination of rank and office now went through all the orders of the state. The magistrates were divided into three classes, distinguished by the unmeaning titles of, 1. The Illustrious; 2. The Respectable; 3. The *Clarissimi*. The epithet of Illustrious was bestowed on, 1. The consuls and patricians; 2. The praetorian praefects of Rome and Constantinople; 3. The masters-general of the cavalry and infantry; 4. The seven ministers of the palace. The consuls were created by the sole authority of the Emperor: their dignity was inefficient; they had no appropriate function in the state, and their names served only to give the legal date to the year. The dignity of patrician was not,

as in ancient times, a hereditary distinction, but was bestowed, as a title of honour, by the Emperor on his favourites. From the time of the abolition of the praetorian bands by Constantine, the dignity of praetorian praefect was conferred on the civil governors of the four departments of the empire. These were, the East, Illyria, Italy, and the Gauls. They had the supreme administration of justice and of the finances, the power of supplying all the inferior magistracies in their district, and an appellative jurisdiction from all its tribunals. Independent of their authority, Rome and Constantinople had each its own praefect, who was the chief magistrate of the city. In the second class, the Respectable, were the proconsuls of Asia, Achaia, and Africa, and the military *comites* and *duces*, generals of the imperial armies. The third class, *Clarissimi*, comprehended the inferior governors and magistrates of the provinces, responsible to the praefects and their deputies.

2. The intercourse between the court and provinces was maintained by the construction of roads, and the institution of regular posts

or couriers; under which denomination were ranked the numberless spies of government, whose duty was to convey all sort of intelligence from the remotest quarters of the empire to its chief seat. Every institution was calculated to support the fabric of despotism. Torture was employed for the discovery of crimes. Taxes and impositions of every nature were prescribed and levied by the sole authority of the Emperor. The quantity and rate was fixed by a *census* made over all the provinces, and part was generally paid in money, part in the produce of the lands; a burden frequently found so grievous as to prompt to the neglect of agriculture. Every object of merchandise and manufacture was likewise highly taxed. Subsidies, moreover, were exacted from all the cities, under the name of free gifts, on various occasions of public concern; as the accession of an Emperor, his consulate, the birth of a prince, a victory over the Barbarians, or any other event of similar importance.

3. An impolitic distinction was made between the troops stationed in the distant provinces and those in the heart of the empire.

The latter, termed *Palatines*, enjoyed a higher pay and more peculiar favour, and, having less employment, spent their time in idleness and luxury; while the former, termed the *Borderers*, who, in fact had the care of the empire, and were exposed to perpetual hard service, had, with an inferior reward, the mortification of feeling themselves regarded as of meaner rank than their fellow-soldiers. Constantine likewise, from a timid policy of guarding against mutinies of the troops, reduced the legion from its ancient compliment of 5000, 6000, 7000, and 8000, to 1000 or 1500, and debased the body of the army by the intermixture of Scythians, Goths, and Germans.

4. This immense mass of heterogeneous parts, which internally laboured with the seeds of dissolution and corruption, was kept together for some time by the vigorous exertion of despotic authority. The fabric was splendid and august; but it wanted both that energy of constitution and that real dignity which, in former times, it derived from the exercise of heroic and patriotic virtues.

5. Constantine, with a destructive policy, had divided the empire among five princes, three of them his sons, and two nephews; but Constantius, the youngest of the sons, finally got rid of all his competitors, and ruled the empire alone with a weak and impotent sceptre. A variety of domestic broils, and mutinies of the troops against their generals, had left the western frontier to the mercy of the Barbarian nations. The Franks, Saxons, Alemanni, and Sarmatians, laid waste all the fine countries watered by the Rhine, and the Persians made dreadful incursions on the provinces of the east. Constantius indolently wasted his time in theological controversies, but was prevailed on to adopt one prudent measure, the appointment of his cousin Julian to the dignity of Caesar.

6. Julian possessed many heroic qualities, and his mind was formed by nature for the sovereignty of a great people; but educated at Athens in the schools of the Platonic philosophy, he had unfortunately conceived a rooted antipathy to the doctrines of Christianity. With every talent of a general, and possessing the confidence and affection of his

troops, he once more restored the glory of the Roman arms, and successfully repressed the invasions of the Barbarians. His victories excited the jealousy of Constantius, who meanly resolved to remove from his command the better part of his troops. The consequence was a declaration of the army, that it was their choice that Julian should be their Emperor. Constantius escaped the ignominy that awaited him by dying at this critical juncture, and Julian was immediately acknowledged sovereign of the Roman empire.

7. The reformation of civil abuses formed the first object of his attention; which he next turned to the reformation, as he thought, of religion, by the suppression of christianity. He began by reforming the Pagan theology, and sought to raise the character of its priests, by inculcating purity of life and sanctity of morals; thus bearing involuntary testimony to the superior excellence, in those respects, of that religion which he laboured to abolish. Without persecuting, he attacked the Christians by the more dangerous policy of treating them with contempt, and removing them, as visionaries, from all employments of public

trust. He refused them the benefit of the laws to decide their differences, because their religion forbade all dissensions; and they were debarred the studies of literature and philosophy, which they could not learn but from Pagan authors. He was himself, as a Pagan, the slave of the most bigoted superstition, believing in omens and auguries, and fancying himself favoured with an actual intercourse with the gods and goddesses. To avenge the injuries which the empire had sustained from the Persians, Julian marched into the heart of Asia, and was for some time in the train of conquest, when, in a fatal engagement, though crowned with victory, he was slain, at the age of thirty-one, after a reign of three years, A. D. 363.

8. The Roman army was dispirited by the death of its commander. They chose for their Emperor Jovian, a captain of the domestic guards, and purchased a free retreat from the dominions of Persia by the ignominious surrender of five provinces, which had been ceded by a former sovereign to Galerius. The short reign of Jovian, a period of seven months, was mild and equitable. He favour-

ed Christianity, and restored its votaries to all their privileges as subjects. He died suddenly at the age of thirty-three.

9. Valentinian was chosen Emperor by the army on the death of Jovian; a man of obscure birth, and severe manners, but of considerable military talents. He associated with himself in the empire his brother Valens, to whom he gave the dominion of the eastern provinces, reserving to himself the western. The Persians, under Sapor, were making inroads on the former, and the latter was subject to continual invasion from the northern Barbarians. They were successfully repelled by Valentinian in many battles; and his domestic administration was wise, equitable, and politic. The Christian religion was favoured by the Emperor, though not promoted by the persecution of its adversaries; a contrast to the conduct of his brother Valens, who, intemperately supporting the Arian heresy, set the whole provinces in a flame, and drew a swarm of invaders upon the empire in the guise of friends and allies, who in the end entirely subverted it. These were the Goths, who, migrating from Scandinavia, had, in the

second century, settled on the banks of the Palus Moeotis, and thence gradually extended their territory. In the reign of Valens they took possession of Dacia, and were known by the distinct appellation of Ostrogoths and Visigoths, or eastern and western Goths; a remarkable people, and whose manners, customs, government, and laws, are afterwards to be particularly noted.

10. Valentinian died on an expedition against the Alemanni, and was succeeded in the empire of the west by Gratian, his eldest son, a boy of sixteen years of age, A. D. 367. Valens, in the east, was the scourge of his people. The Huns, a new race of Barbarians, of Tartar or Siberian origin, now poured down on the provinces both of the west and east. The Goths, comparatively a civilized people, fled before them. The Visigoths, who were first attacked, requested protection from the empire, and Valens imprudently gave them a settlement in Thrace. The Ostrogoths made the same request, and, on refusal, forced their way into the same province. Valens gave them battle at Adrianople: his army was de-

feated, and he himself slain in the engagement. The Goths, unresisted, ravaged Achaia and Pannonia.

11. Gratian, a youth of great worth, but of little energy of character, assumed Theodosius as his colleague, who, on the early death of Gratian, and minority of his son Valentinian II. governed, with great ability, both the eastern and western empire. The character of Theodosius, deservedly sirnamed *the Great*, was worthy of the best ages of the Roman state. He successfully repelled the encroachments of the Barbarians, and secured, by wholesome laws, the prosperity of his people. He died, after a reign of eighteen years, assigning to his sons, Arcadius and Honorius, the separate sovereignties of east and west, A. D. 395.

XLV.

PROGRESS OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION, FROM ITS INSTITUTION TO THE EXTINCTION OF PAGANISM IN THE REIGN OF THEODOSIUS.

1. THE reign of Theodosius was signalized by the downfal of the Pagan superstition, and the full establishment of the Christian religion in the Roman empire. This great revolution of opinions is highly worthy of attention, and naturally induces a retrospect to the condition of the Christian church from its institution down to this period.

It has been frequently remarked, because it is an obvious truth, that the concurrence of circumstances at the time of our Saviour's birth was such as, while a divine revelation seemed to be then more peculiarly needed, the state of the world was remarkably favourable for the extensive dissemination of the

doctrines it conveyed. The union of so many nations under one power, and the extension of civilization, were favourable to the progress of a religion which prescribed universal charity and benevolence. The gross superstitions of Paganism, and its tendency to corrupt instead of purifying the morals, contributed to explode its influence with every thinking mind. Even the prevalent philosophy of the times, Epicurism, more easily understood than the refinements of the Platonists, and more grateful than the severities of the Stoics, tended to degrade human nature to the level of the brute creation. The Christian religion, thus necessary for the reformation of the world, found its chief partisans in those who were the friends of virtue, and its enemies among the votaries of vice.

2. The persecution which the Christians underwent from the Romans has been deemed an exception to that spirit of toleration they showed to the religions of other nations: but they were tolerating only to those whose theologies were not hostile to their own. The religion of the Romans was interwoven with their political constitution. The zeal of the

Christians, aiming at the suppression of all idolatry, was not unnaturally regarded as dangerous to the state; and hence they were the object of hatred and persecution. In the first century, the Christian church suffered deeply under Nero and Domitian; yet those persecutions had no tendency to check the progress of its doctrines.

3. It is matter of question what was the form of the primitive church, and the nature of its government; and on this head much difference of opinion obtains, not only between the Catholics and Protestants, but between the different classes of the latter, as the Lutherans and Calvanists. It is moreover an opinion, that our Saviour and his Apostles, confining their precepts to the pure doctrines of religion, have left all Christian societies to regulate their frame and government in the manner best suited to the civil constitutions of the countries in which they are established.

4. In the second century, the books of the New Testament were collected into a volume by the elder fathers of the church, and re-

ceived as a canon of faith. The Old Testament had been translated from the Hebrew into Greek, by order of Ptolemy Philadelphus, 284 years before Christ. The early church suffered much from an absurd endeavour of the more learned of its votaries to reconcile its doctrines to the tenets of the Pagan philosophers: hence the sects of the Gnostics and Ammonians, and the Platonising Christians. The Greek churches began in the 2d century to form provincial associations, and establish general rules of government and discipline. Assemblies were held, termed *Synodoi* and *Concilia*, over which a metropolitan presided. A short time after arose the superior order of Patriarch, presiding over a large district of the Christian world; and a subordination taking place even among these, the Bishop of Rome was acknowledged the chief of the Patriarchs. Persecution still attended the early church, even under those excellent princes, Trajan, Adrian, and the Antonines; and, in the reign of Severus, the whole provinces of the empire were stained with the blood of the martyrs.

5. The 3d century was more favourable to the progress of Christianity and the tranquility of its disciples. In those times it suffered less from the civil arm than from the pens of the Pagan philosophers, Porphyry, Philostratus, &c.; but these attacks called forth the zeal and talents of many able defenders, as Origen, Dionysius, and Cyprian. A part of the Gauls, Germany, and Britain, received in this century the light of the gospel.

6. In the 4th century, the Christian church was alternately persecuted and cherished by the Roman Emperors. Among its oppressors we rank Diocletian, Galerius, and Julian. Among its favourers, Constantine and his sons, Valentinian, Valens, Gratian, and the excellent Theodosius, in whose reign the Pagan superstition came to its final period.

7. From the age of Numa to the reign of Gratian, the Romans preserved the regular succession of the several sacerdotal colleges, the Pontiffs, Augurs, Vestals, *Flamines*, *Salii*, &c. whose authority, though weakened in the latter ages, was still protected by the laws. Even the Christian Emperors held, like their

Pagan predecessors, the office of *Pontifex Maximus.* Gratian was the first who refused that ancient dignity as a profanation. In the time of Theodosius, the cause of Christianity and of Paganism was solemnly debated in the Roman senate between Ambrose, archbishop of Milan, the champion of the former, and Symmachus, the defender of the latter. The cause of Christianity was triumphant, and the senate issued its decree for the abolition of Paganism, whose downfal in the capital was soon followed by its extinction in the provinces. Theodosius, with able policy, permitted no persecution of the ancient religion, which perished with the more rapidity that its fall was gentle and unresisted.

8. But the Christian church exhibited a superstition in some respects little less irrational than Polytheism, in the worship of saints and relics; and many novel tenets, unfounded in the precepts of our Saviour and his Apostles, were manifestly borrowed from the Pagan schools. The doctrines of the Platonic philosophy seem to have led to the notions of an intermediate state of purification, celibacy of

the priests, ascetic mortifications, penances, and monastic seclusion.

XLVI.

EXTINCTION OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE IN THE WEST.

1. In the reigns of Arcadius and Honorius, the sons and successors of Theodosius, the Barbarian nations established themselves in the frontier provinces both of the east and west. Theodosius had committed the government to Rufinus and Stilicho during the nonage of his sons; and their fatal dissensions gave every advantage to the enemies of the empire. The Huns, actually invited by Rufinus, overspread Armenia, Cappadocia, and Syria. The Goths, under Alaric, ravaged to the borders of Italy, and laid waste Achaia to the Peloponnesus. Stilicho, an able general, made a noble stand against these invaders; but his plans were frustrated by the machinations of his rivals, and the weakness of Ar-

cadius, who purchased an ignominious peace, by ceding to Alaric the whole of Greece.

2. Alaric, now styled King of the Visigoths, prepared to add Italy to his new dominions. He passed the Alps, and was carrying all before him, when, amused by the politic Stilicho with the prospect of a new cession or territory, he was taken at unawares, and defeated by that general, then commanding the armies of Honorius. The Emperor triumphantly celebrated, on that occasion, the *eternal* defeat of the Gothic nation; an eternity bounded by the lapse of a few months. In this interval, a torrent of the Goths breaking down upon Germany, forced the nations whom they dispossessed, the Suevi, Alani, and Vandals, to precipitate themselves upon Italy. They joined their arms to those of Alaric, who, thus reinforced, determined to overwhelm Rome. The policy of Stilicho made him change his purpose, on the promise of 4000 pounds weight of gold; a promise repeatedly broken by Honorius, and its violation finally revenged by Alaric, by the sack and plunder of the city, A. D. 410. With generous magnanimity, he was sparing of the

lives of the vanquished, and, with singular liberality of spirit, anxious to preserve every ancient edifice from destruction.

3. Alaric, preparing now for the conquest of Sicily and Africa, died at this aera of his highest glory; and Honorius, instead of profiting by this event to recover his lost provinces, made a treaty with his successor Ataulfus, gave him in marriage his sister Placidia, and secured his friendship by ceding to him a portion of Spain, while a great part of what remained had before been occupied by the Vandals. He allowed soon after to the Burgundians a just title to their conquests in Gaul. Thus the western empire was by degrees mouldering from under the dominion of its ancient masters.

4. In the east, the mean and dissolute Arcadius died in the year 408, leaving that empire to his infant son Theodosius II., whose sister Pulcheria swayed the sceptre with much prudence and ability; and the weakness of her brother allowed her government to be of forty years continuance. Honorius died in the year 423. The laws of Arcadius and Honorius are, with a few exceptions, remarkable

for their wisdom and equity; a singular phenomenon, considering the personal character of those princes, and evincing at least that they employed some able ministers.

5. The Vandals, under Genseric, subdued the Roman province in Africa. The Huns, in the east, extended their conquests from the borders of China to the Baltic sea. Under Attila they laid waist Moesia and Thrace; and Theodosius, after a mean attempt to murder the Barbarian general, ingloriously submitted to pay him an annual tribute. It was in this crisis of universal decay that the Britons implored the Romans to defend them against the Picts and Scots, but received for answer, that they had nothing to bestow on them but compassion. The Britons, in despair, sought aid from the Saxons and Angles, who seized, as their property, the country they were invited to protect, and founded, in the 5th and 6th centuries, the kingdoms of the Saxon Heptarchy. (See Part II. Sect. XII. § 5.)

6. Attila, with an army of 500,000 men, threatened the total destruction of the empire. He was ably opposed by Ætius, gene-

ral of Valentinian III. now Emperor of the West, who was himself shut up in Rome by the arms of the Barbarian, and at length compelled to purchase a peace. On the death of Attila, his dominions were dismembered by his sons, whose dissensions gave temporary relief to the falling empire.

7. After Valentinian III. we have in the West a succession of princes, or rather names; for the events of their reigns merit no detail. In the reign of Romulus, surnamed Augustulus, the son of Orestes, the empire of the West came to a final period. Odoacer, prince of the Heruli, subdued Italy, and spared the life of Augustulus, on the condition of his resigning the throne, A. D. 476. From the building of Rome to this aera, the extinction of the Western Empire, is a period of 1224 years.

8. We may reduce to one ultimate cause the various circumstances that produced the decline and fall of this once magnificent fabric. The ruin of the Roman empire was the inevitable consequence of its greatness. The extension of its dominion relaxed the vigour of its frame; the vices of the conquered na-

tions infected the victorious legions, and foreign luxuries corrupted their commanders; selfish interest supplanted the patriotic affection; the martial spirit was purposely debased by the Emperors, who dreaded its effects on their own power; and the whole mass, thus weakened and enervated, fell an easy prey to the torrent of Barbarians which overwhelmed it.

9. The Herulian dominion in Italy was of short duration. Theodoric, prince of the Ostrogoths (afterwards deservedly surnamed *the Great*), obtained permission of Zeno, Emperor of the East, to attempt the recovery of Italy, and a promise of its sovereignty as the reward of his success. The whole nation of the Ostrogoths attended the standard of their prince; and Theodoric, victorious in repeated engagements, at length compelled Odoacer to surrender all Italy to the conqueror. The Romans had tasted of happiness under the government of Odoacer, and it was increased under the dominion of Theodoric, who possessed every talent and virtue of a sovereign. His equity and clemency rendered him a blessing to his subjects: he allied himself with

all the surrounding nations, the Franks, Visigoths, Burgundians, and Vandals; and he left a peaceable sceptre to his grandson Athalaric, during whose infancy his mother Amalasonte governed with such admirable wisdom and moderation, as left her subjects no real cause of regret for the loss of her father.

10. While such was the state of Gothic Italy, the empire of the East was under the government of Justinian, a prince of mean ability, vain, capricious, and tyrannical. Yet the Roman name rose for a while from its abasement by the merit of his generals. Belisarius was the support of his throne, yet to him he behaved with the most shocking ingratitude. The Persians were at this time the most formidable enemies of the empire, under their sovereigns Cabades and Cosrhoes; and from the latter, a most able prince, Justinian meanly purchased a peace, by a cession of territory, and an enormous tribute in gold. The civil factions of Constantinople, arising from the most contemptible of causes, the disputes of the performers in the circus and amphitheatre, threatened to hurl Justinian from the throne, had they not been fortunately com-

posed by the arms and the policy of Belisarius. This great general overwhelmed the Vandal sovereignty of Africa, and recovered that Province to the empire. He wrested Italy from its Gothic sovereign, and once more restored it for a short space to the dominion of its ancient masters.

11. Italy was recovered to the Goths by the heroic Totila, who besieged and took the city of Rome, but forbore to destroy it at the request of Belisarius. The fortunes of this great man were now in the wane. He was compelled to evacuate Italy; and, on his return to Constantinople, his long services were repaid with disgrace. He was superseded in the command of the armies by the eunuch Narses, who defeated Totila in a decisive engagement, in which the Gothic prince was slain. Narses governed Italy with great ability for thirteen years, when he was ungratefully recalled by Justin II. the successor of Justinian. He invited the Lombards to avenge his injuries; and this new tribe of invaders overran and conquered the country,

A. D. 568.

XLVII.

OF THE ORIGIN, MANNERS, AND CHARACTER OF THE GOTHIC NATIONS, BEFORE THEIR ESTABLISHMENT IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

1. THE history and manners of the Gothic nations are curious objects of inquiry, from their influence on the constitutions and national character of most of the modern kingdoms of Europe. As the present inhabitants of these kingdoms are a mixed race, compounded of the Goths and of the nations whom they subdued, the laws, manners, and institutions of the modern kingdoms are the result of this conjunction; and in so far as these are different from the usages prevalent before this intermixture, they are, in all probability, to be traced from the ancient manners and institutions of those northern tribes. We purpose to consider, I. The original char-

acter of the Gothic nations; and, II. The change of their manners on their establishment in the Roman empire.

2. The Scandinavian chronicles attribute to the ancient inhabitants of that country an Asiatic origin, and inform us that the Goths were a colony of Scythians, who migrated thither from the banks of the Black sea and the Caspian: but these chronicles do not fix the period of this migration, which some later writers suppose to have been 1000 years, and others only 70, before the Christian aera. Odin, the chief deity of the Scandinavians, was the god of the Scythians. Sigga, a Scythian prince, is said to have undertaken a distant expedition; and, after subduing several of the Sarmatian tribes, to have penetrated into the northern parts of Germany, and thence into Scandinavia. He assumed the honours of divinity, and the title of Odin his national God. He conquered Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, and gave wise and salutary laws to the nations he had subdued by his arms.

3. The agreement in manners between the Scythians and the ancient Scandinavian nations is strongly corroborative of the accounts

given in the northern chronicles of the identity of their origin. The description of the manners of the Germans by Tacitus (though this people was probably not of Scythian, but of Celtic origin), may, in many particulars, be applied to the ancient nations of Scandinavia; and the same description coincides remarkably with the account given by Herodotus of the manners of the Scythians. Their life was spent in hunting, pasturage, and predatory war. Their dress, their weapons, their food, their respect for their women, their religious worship, were the same. They despised learning, and had no other records for many ages than the songs of their bards.

4. The theology of the Scandinavians was most intimately connected with their manners. They held three great principles or fundamental doctrines of religion: "To serve "the Supreme Being with prayer and sacri-"fice; to do no wrong or unjust action; and "to be intrepid in fight." These principles are the key to the *Edda*, or sacred book of the Scandinavians, which, though it contains the substance of a very ancient religion, is not it

self a work of high antiquity, being compiled in the thirteenth century by Snorro Sturleson, supreme judge of Iceland. Odin, characterized as the Terrible and Severe God, the Father of Carnage, the Avenger, is the principal Deity of the Scandinavians; from whose union with Frea, the heavenly mother, sprung various subordinate divinities; as Thor, who perpetually wars against Loke and his evil giants, who envy the power of Odin, and seek to destroy his works. Among the inferior deities are the Virgins of the Valhalla, whose office is to minister to the heroes in paradise. The favourites of Odin are all who die in battle, or, what is equally meritorious, by their own hand. The timid wretch, who allows himself to perish by disease or age, is unworthy of the joys of paradise. These joys are, fighting, ceaseless slaughter, and drinking beer out of the skulls of their enemies, with a renovation of life, to furnish a perpetuity of the same pleasures.

5. As the Scandinavians believed this world to be the work of some superior intelligences, so they held all nature to be constantly under the regulation of an almighty will and power,

and subject to a fixed and unalterable destiny. These notions had a wonderful effect on the national manners, and on the conduct of individuals. The Scandinavian placed his sole delight in war: he entertained an absolute contempt of danger and of death, and his glory was estimated by the number he had slain in battle. The death-song of *Regner Lodbrok*, who comforts himself in his last agonies by recounting all the acts of carnage he had committed in his lifetime, is a faithful picture of the Scandinavian character.

6. We have remarked the great similarity of the manners of the Scandinavians and those of the ancient Germans. These nations seem, however, to have had a different origin. The Germans, as well as the Gauls, were branches of that great original nation termed *Celtae*, who inhabited most of the countries of Europe to the south of the Baltic, before they were invaded by the northern tribes from Scandinavia. The Celtae were all of the Druidical religion; a system which, though different from the belief and worship of the Scandinavians, is founded nearly on the same

principles; and the Goths, in their progress, intermixing with the Germans, could not fail to adopt, in part, the notions of a kindred religion. Druidism acknowledged a God that delighted in bloodshed; it taught the immortality of the soul, and inculcated the contempt of danger and of death:—*Ignavum redituraе parcere vitae.* Tacitus remarks of the ancient Germans, that they had neither temples nor idols. The open air was the temple of the divinity, and a consecrated grove the appropriated place for prayer and sacrifice, which none but the priests were allowed to enter. The chief sacrifices were human victims, most probably the prisoners taken in war. The Druids heightened the sanctity of their character by concealing the mysteries of their worship. They had the highest influence over the minds of the people, and thus found it easy to conjoin a civil authority with the sacerdotal; a policy which in the end led to the destruction of the Druidical system; for the Romans found no other way of securing their conquests over any of the Celtic nations, than by exterminating the Druids.

7. Whatever difference of manners there may have been among the various nations or tribes of Gothic origin, the great features of their character appear to have been the same. Nature, education, and prevailing habits, all concurred to form them for an intrepid and conquering people. Their bodily frame invigorated by the climate they inhabited, ever inured to danger and fatigue, war their habitual occupation, believing in an unalterable destiny, and taught by their religion, that a heroic sacrifice of life gave certain assurance of eternal happiness; how could a race of men so characterized fail to be the conquerors of the world?

XLVIII.

OF THE MANNERS, LAWS, AND GOVERNMENT OF THE GOTHIC NATIONS, AFTER THEIR ESTABLISHMENT IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

1. It has been erroneously imagined, that the same ferocity of manners which distin-

guished the Goths in their original seats, attended their successors in their new establishments in the provinces of the Roman empire. Modern authors have given a currency to this false idea. Voltaire, in describing the middle ages, paints the Goths in all the characters of horror; as "a troop of hungry wolves, foxes, "and tigers, driving before them the scatter-"ed timid herds, and involving all in ruin "and desolation." The accounts of historians most worthy of credit will dissipate this injurious prejudice, and show these northern nations in a more favourable point of view, as not unworthy to be the successors of the Romans.

2. Before their settlement in the southern provinces of Europe, the Goths were no longer idolaters, but Christians; and their morality was suitable to the religion they professed. Salvianus, Bishop of Marseilles, in the fifth century, draws a parallel between their manners and those of the Romans, highly to the credit of the former. Grotius, in his publication of Procopius and Jornandes, remarks, as a strong testimony to their honourable character as a nation, that no province once

subdued by the Goths ever voluntarily withdrew itself from their government.

3. It is not possible to produce a more beautiful picture of an excellent administration than that of the Gothic monarchy in Italy under Theodoric the Great. Although master of the country by conquest, he was regarded by his subjects with the affection of a native sovereign. He retained the Roman laws, and as nearly as possible the ancient political regulations. In supplying all civil offices of state, he preferred the native Romans. It was his care to preserve every monument of the ancient grandeur of the empire, and to embellish the cities by new works of beauty and utility. In the imposition and levying of taxes, he shewed the most humane indulgence on every occasion of scarcity or calamity. His laws were dictated by the most enlightened prudence and benevolence, and framed on that principle which he nobly inculcated in his instructions to the Roman senate, "*Benigni principes, est, non tam delicta velle punire, quam tollere.*" The historians of the times delight in recounting the examples of his munificence and humanity. Par-

tial as he was to the Arian heresy, many even of the Catholic Fathers have done the most ample justice to his merits, acknowledging that, under his reign, the church enjoyed a high measure of prosperity. Such was Theodoric the Great, who is justly termed by Sidonius Apollinaris, *Romanae decus columenque gentis.*

4. But a single example could not warrant a general inference with regard to the merits of a whole people. The example of Theodoric is not single. If it does not find a complete parallel, it is at least nearly approached to in the similar characters of Alaric, Amalasonte, and Totila. Alaric, compelled by his enemy's breach of faith to revenge himself by the sack of Rome, showed even in that revenge a noble example of humanity. No blood was shed without necessity; the churches were inviolable asylums; the honour of the women was preserved; the treasures of the city were saved from plunder. Amalasonte, the daughter of Theoderic, repaired to her subjects the loss of her father, by the equity and wisdom of her administration. She trained her son to the study of literature and of every polite ac-

complishment, as the best means of reforming and enlightening his people. Totila, twice master of Rome, which he won by his arms after an obstinate resistance, imitated the example of Alaric in his clemency to the vanquished, and in his care to preserve every remnant of ancient magnificence from destruction. He restored the senate to its authority; he adorned Rome with useful edifices, regulated its internal policy, and took a noble pride in reviving the splendour and dignity of the empire. *Habitavit cum Romanis*, says a cotemporary author, *tanquam pater cum filiis.*

5. The stem of the Gothic nation divided itself into two great branches, the Ostrogoths, who remained in Pannonia, and the Westrogoths or Visigoths, so termed from their migrating thence to the west of Europe. Italy was possessed by the later under Alaric, and by the former under Theodoric. The Visigoths, after the death of Alaric, withdrew into Gaul, and obtained from Honorius the province of Aquitaine, of which Thoulouse was the capital. When expelled from that province by the Franks, they crossed the Pyre-

nees, and, settling in Spain, made Toledo the capital of their kingdom. The race of the Visigoth princes was termed the *Balti*, as that of the Ostrogoths the *Amali*. The Ostrogoths enforced in their dominions the observance of the Roman laws; the Visigoths adhered to a code compiled by their own sovereigns, and founded on the ancient manners and usages of their nations. From this code, therefore, we may derive much information relative to the genius and character of this ancient people.

6. It is enacted by the *Laws of the Visigoths* that no judge shall decide in any lawsuit, unless he finds in that book a law applicable to the case. All causes that fall not under this description are reserved for the decision of the sovereign. The penal laws are severe, but tempered with great equity. No punishment can affect the heirs of the criminal; *omnia crimina suos sequantur auctores,—et ille solus judicetur culpabilis qui culpanda commiserit, et crimen cum illo qui fecerit moriatur.* Death was the punishment of the murder of a freeman, and perpetual infamy of the murder of a slave.—Pecuniary fines were enact-

ed for various subordinate offences, according to their measure of criminality.—An adulterer was delivered in bondage to the injured husband; and the free-woman who had committed adultery with a married man, became the slave of his wife.—No physician was allowed to visit a female patient, but in the presence of her nearest kindred.—The *Lex talionis* was in great observance for such injuries as admitted of it. It was even carried so far, that the incendiary of a house was burnt alive.—The trials by judicial combat, by ordeal, and by the judgment of God, which were in frequent use among the Franks and Normans, had no place among the Visigoths.—Montesquieu has erroneously asserted, that in all the Gothic nations it was usual to judge the litigants by the law of their own country; the Roman by the Roman law, the Frank by that of the Franks, the Aleman by that of the Alemans. On the contrary, the Visigoth code prohibits the laws of all other nations within the territories of that people; *Nolumus sive Romanis legibus, sive alienis institutionibus, amplius convexari.* The laws of

the Franks and Lombards are remarkable for their wisdom and judicious policy.

7. The government of the Goths, after their settlement in the Roman provinces, was monarchical, and, at first elective, became afterwards hereditary; the sovereign on his deathbed appointing his successor, with the advice or consent of his grandees. Illegitimacy did not disqualify from succession or nomination to the throne.

8. The Dukes and Counts were the chief officers under the Gothic government. The Duke (*Dux exercitus*) was the commander in chief of the troops of the province; the Count (*Comes*) was the highest civil magistrate; but these offices frequently intermixed their functions, the Count being empowered, on sudden emergenies, to assume a military command, and the Duke, on some occasions, warranted to exercise judicial authority. In general, however, their departments were distinct. Of *Comites* there were various orders, with distinct official powers; as, *Comes cubiculi*, Chamberlain; *Comes stabuli*, Constable, &c. These various officers were the *proceres* or grandees of the kingdom, by whose advice

the sovereign conducted himself in important matters of government, or in the nomination of his successor; but we do not find that they had a voice in the framing of laws, or in the imposition of taxes; and the prince himself had the sole nomination to all offices of government, magistracies, and dignities.

XLIX.

METHOD OF STUDYING ANCIENT HISTORY.

1. A general and concise view of ancient history may be acquired by the perusal of a very few books; as that part of the *Cours d'Etude* of the Abbé Condillac which regards the history of the nations of antiquity; the Elements of General History by the Abbé Millot, part 1st; the Epitome of Turselline, with the notes of L'Agneau, part 1st; or the excellent *Compendium Historiae Universalis*, by Professor Offerhaus of Groningen. The two first of these works have the merit of uniting a spirit of reflection with a judicious

selection of events. The notes of L'Agneau to the Epitome of Turselline, contain a great store of geographical and biographical information; and the work of Offerhaus is peculiarly valuable, as uniting sacred with profane history, and containing most ample references to the ancient authors. The *Discours sur l'Histoire Universelle*, by the Bishop of Meaux, though a work of high merit, is rather useful to those who have already studied history in detail, for uniting in the mind the great current of events, and recalling to the memory their order and connexion, than fitted to convey information to the uninstructed.

But the student who wishes to derive the most complete advantage from history, must not confine himself to such general or compendious views; he must resort to the original historians of ancient times, and the modern writers who have treated with amplitude of particular periods. It may be useful to such students to point out the order in which those historians may be most profitably perused.

2. Next to the historical books of the Old Testament, the most ancient history worthy

of perusal is that of Herodotus, which comprehends the annals of Lydia, Ionia, Lycia, Egypt, Persia, Greece, and Macedonia, during above 230 years preceding 479 A. C.

Book 1. contains the History of Lydia from Gyges to Croesus; Ancient Ionia; Manners of the Persians, Babylonians, &c.; History of Cyrus the Elder.

B. 2. History of Egypt, and Manners of the Egyptians.

B. 3. History of Cambyses.—Persian Monarchy under Darius Hystaspes.

B. 4. History of Scythia.

B. 5. Persian Embassy to Macedon; Athens, Lacedaemon, Corinth, at the same period.

B. 6. Kings of Lacedaemon.—War of Persia against Greece, to the battle of Marathon.

B. 7. The same war, to the battle of Thermopylae.

B. 8. The naval battle of Salamis.

B. 9. The defeat and expulsion of the Persians from Greece.

(The merits of Herodotus are shortly characterized *supra*, Sect. XXII. § 1.)

3. A more particular account of the periods treated by Herodotus may be found in Justin, lib. 1. 2. 3. and 7.; the Cyropedia of Xenophon; the lives of Aristides, Themistocles, Cimon, Miltiades, and Pausanius, written by Plutarch and Cornelius Nepos; and those of Anaximander, Zeno, Empedocles, Heraclitus, and Democritus, by Diogenes Laertius.

4. The Grecian history is taken up by Thucydides from the period where Herodotus ends, and is continued for seventy years, to the twenty-first of the Peloponnesian war. (This work characterized, Sect. XXII. § 2.) The period he treats of is more amply illustrated by perusing the 11th and 12th books of Diodorus Siculus; the lives of Alcibiades, Chabrias, Thrasybulus, and Lysias, by Plutarch and Nepos; the 2d, 3d, 4th, and 5th books of Justin, and 14th and 15th chapters of the first book of Orosius.

5. Next to Thucydides, the student ought to peruse the 1st and 2d books of Xenophon's History of Greece, which comprehends the narrative of the Peloponnesian war, with the cotemporary history of the Medes and Persians; then the expedition of Cyrus (*Anabasis*)

and the continuation of the history to its con clusion with the battle of Mantinea. (Xenophon characterized, Sect. XXII. § 3.) For illustrating this period, we have the lives of Lysander, Agesilaus, Artaxerxes, Conon, and Datames, by Plutarch and Nepos; the 4th, 5th, and 6th books of Justin; and the 13th and 14th of Diodorus Siculus.

6. After Xenophon, let the student read the 15th and 16th books of Diodorus, which contain the history of Greece and Persia, from the battle of Mantinea, to the reign of Alexander the Great. (Diodorus characterised, Sect. XXII. § 5.) To complete this period, let him read the lives of Dion, Iphicrates, Timotheus, Phocion, and Timoleon, by Nepos.

7. For the history of Alexander the Great, we have the admirable works of Arrian and Quintus Curtius, (the former characterized, Sect. XXII. § 8.) Curtius possesses great judgement in the selection of facts, with much elegance and perspicuity of diction. He is a good moralist and a good patriot; but his passion for embellishment derogates from the

purity of history, and renders his authority suspicious.

8. For the continuation of the history of Greece from the death of Alexander, we have the 18th, 19th, and 20th books of Diodorus; and the history of Justin from the 13th book downwards; together with the lives of the principal personages, written by Plutarch. The history of Justin is a most judicious abridgment of a much larger work by Trogus Pompeius, which is lost. Justin excels in the delineation of characters, and in purity of style.

9. I have mentioned the lives of Plutarch and Cornelius Nepos as the best supplement to the account of particular periods of ancient history. It is the highest praise of Plutarch, that his writings breathe the most admirable morality, and furnish the most instructive lessons of active virtue. He makes us familiarly acquainted with the great men of antiquity, and chiefly delights in painting their private character and manners. The short lives written by Nepos show great judgment, and a most happy selection of such facts as display the genius and character of his he-

roes. They are written likewise with great purity and elegance.

10. For the Roman history in its early periods, we have, first, the Antiquities of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, which bring down the history of Rome to 412 A. U. C. They are chiefly valuable, as illustrating the manners and customs, the rites, civil and religious, and the laws of the Roman state. But the writer is too apt to frame hypotheses, and to give views instead of narratives. We look for these in the modern writers who treat of ancient times, but we cannot tolerate them in the sources of history.

11. The work of Livy is infinitely more valuable; a perfect model of history, both as to matter and composition, (characterised Sect. XXXVI. § 10.) Of 132 books, we have only remaining 35, and those interrupted by a considerable chasm. The first decade (or ten books) treats of a period of 460 years; the second decade, containing seventy-five years, is lost; the third contains the second Punic war, including eighteen years; the fourth contains the war against Philip of Macedon, and the Asiatic war against Antiochus, a space of

twenty-three years; of the fifth decade there are only five books; and the remainder, which reaches to the death of Drusus, 746 A. U. C. has, together with the second decade, been supplied by Freinshemius. To supply the chasm of the second decade, the student ought to read, together with the epitome of those lost books, the first and second books of Polybius; the 17th, 18th, 22d, and 23d books of Justin; the lives of Marcellus and Fabius Maximus by Plutarch; and the Punic and Illyrian wars by Appian.

12. But the history of Polybius demands a separate and attentive perusal, as an admirable compendium of political and military instruction. Of forty books of general history we have only five entire, and excerpts of the following twelve. The matter of which he treats is the history of the Romans, and the nations with whom they were at war, from the beginning of the second Punic war to the beginning of the war with Macedonia, comprising in all a period of about fifty years. Of the high estimation in which Polybius stood with the authors of antiquity, we have sufficient proof in the encomiums bestowed on him by Cicero, Strabo, Josephus, and Plu-

tarch; and in the use which Livy has made of his history, in adopting his narratives by an almost literal translation.

13. The work of Appian, which originally consisted of twenty books, from the earliest period of the Roman history down to the age of Adrian, is greatly mutilated; there remaining only his account of the Syrian, Parthian, Mithridatic, Spanish, Punic, and Illyrian wars. His narrative of each of these wars is remarkably distinct and judicious, and his composition, on the whole, is chaste and perspicuous. After the history of Appian, the student should resume Livy, from the beginning of the third decade, or 21st book, to the end. Then he may peruse with advantage the lives of Hannibal, Scipio Africanus, Flaminius, Paulus Æmilius, the elder Cato, the Gracchi, Marius, Sylla, the younger Cato, Sertorius, Lucullus, Julius Caesar, Cicero, Pompey, and Brutus, by Plutarch.

14. The histories of the Jugurthine war, and the conspiracy of Catiline by Sallust, come next in order. (Sallust characterized, Sect. XXXVI. § 8.) Then follow the Commentaries of Caesar (Sect. XXXVI. § 9.), re-

markable for perspicuity of narration, and a happy union of brevity with elegant simplicity of style. The epitomes of Florus and of Velleius Paterculus (the latter a model for abridgment of history, in the opinion of the President Henault) may be perused with advantage at this period of the course.

15. For the history of Rome under the first Emperors, we have Suetonius and Tacitus; and for the subsequent reigns, the series of the minor historians, termed *Historiae Augustae Scriptores*, and the Byzantine writers. Suetonius rather gives us a series of detached characters, illustrated by an artful selection of facts and anecdotes, than a regular history. His work is chiefly valuable as descriptive of Roman manners, though his genius has too much of the caustic humour of a satirist. Tacitus, with greater powers and deeper penetration (see Sect. XXXVI. § 11.), has drawn his picture of the times in stern and gloomy colours. From neither of these historians will the ingenuous mind of youth receive moral improvement, or pleasing or benevolent impressions; yet we cannot deny their high utility to the student of politics.

16. If we except Herodian, who wrote with taste and judgment, it is doubtful whether any of the subsequent writers of the Roman history deserve a minute perusal. It were preferable that the student should derive his knowledge of the history of the decline and fall of the empire from modern authors, resorting to the original writers only for occasional information on detached points of importance. For this purpose, the General History by Dr Howel is a work of very high utility, as being written entirely on the basis of the original historians, whose narrative he in general translates, referring constantly to his authorities in the margin. The student will find in this work a most valuable mass of historical information.

17. The reader, having thus founded his knowledge of general history on the original writers, will now peruse with great advantage the modern histories of ancient Greece and Rome, by the able pens of Mitford, Gillies, Gast, Hooke, Gibbon, and Fergusson, and will find himself qualified to form a just estimate of their merits, on which (though too

frequently the practice) it is presumptuous to decide without such preparatory knowledge.

18. The greatest magazine of historical information which has ever been collected into one body, is the English Universal History; a most useful work, from the amplitude of its matter, its general accuracy, and constant reference to the original authors. We may occasionally consult it with great advantage on points where deep research is necessary; but we cannot read it with pleasure as a continued work, from its tedious details and harshness of style, as well as from its abrupt transitions, and the injudicious arrangement of many of its parts.

19. Geography and chronology have been justly termed the *lights* of history. We cannot peruse with advantage the historical annals of any country without a competent notion of its geographical site, and even of its particular topography. In reading the description of all events, the mind necessarily pictures out the scenes of action; and these it is surely better to draw with truth from nature and reality, than falsely from imagination. Many actions and events are like-

wise intimately connected with the geography and local circumstances of a country, and are unintelligible without a knowledge of them.

20. The use of chronological tables is very great, both for the purpose of uniting in one view the cotemporary events in different nations, which often have an influence on each other, and for recalling to the memory the order and series of events, and renewing the impressions of the objects of former study. It is extremely useful, after perusing the history of a nation in detail, or that of a certain age or period, to run over briefly the principal occurrences in a table of Chronology. The most perfect works of this kind are the chronological tables of Dr Playfair, which unite history and biography; the tables of Dr Blair; or the older tables by Tallent.

END OF PART FIRST.

COMPARATIVE VIEW

OF

ANCIENT AND OF MODERN

GEOGRAPHY.

In the following Tables, the Countries unknown to the Ancients, or of which the Names are uncertain, are left blank.

MODERN EUROPE.

- GREENLAND, or the Arctic Continent
- SPITSBERGEN Island
- ICELAND Island, belonging to Norway
- NORWAY.
  1. I. Wardhuis, or Norwegian Lapland
  2. Drontheim
  3. Bergen
  4. Aggerhuis, or Christiana
- SWEDEN.
  1. Lapland and West Bothnia
  2. Sweden Proper
  3. Gothland
  4. Finland
  5. Islands of Gothland, Oeland, Aland, Rugen
- DENMARK.
  - Jutland
    1. Alburg
    2. Wyburg
    3. Aarhusen
    4. Rypen
    5. Sleswick
  - Danish Islands in the Baltic
    1. Zealand
    2. Funen
    3. Falster
    4. Longeland
    5. Laland
    6. Femeren
    7. Alsen
    8. Moen
    9. Bornholm

ANCIENT EUROPE.

- SCANDINAVIA, SCANDIA, vel BALTIA.
  - 2. Nerigon
  - 3. Sitones
  - 1. Scritofinni
  - 2. Suiones
  - 3. Gutae et Hilleviones
  - 4. Finningia
  - 5. Insulae Sinus Codani
- Chersonesus Cimbrica
  - 1. Cimbri
  - 3. Harudes
  - 4. Phundusii, Sigulones
  - 5. Saablingii
- Insulae Sinus Codani
  - 1. Teutones
  - 2. Teutones

RUSSIA in EUROPE.	1. Livonia and Estonia 2. Ingria, or the Government of Petersburg 3. Carelia, or the Government of Wiburg 4. Novogrod 5. Archangel, Samoiedia 6. Moscow 7. Nishnei Novogrod 8. Smolenski 9. Kiew 10. Bielgorod 11. Woronesk 12. Azoff
FRANCE.	1. Picardy 2. Isle of France 3. Champagne 4. Normandy 5. Bretany 6. Orleannois 7. Lionnois 8. Provence 9. Languedoc 10. Guinne 11. Gascoigne 12. Dauphiné 13. Burgundy and Franchcomté 14. Lorraine and Alsace

Sarmatia Europæa.	1. Hirri et Æstli vel Ostiones	
	4. Budini	
	6. Basilici	
	8. Cariones	
	10. & 4. Budini	
	11. Roxolani	
	12. Iazyges	
Gallia.	1. Ambiani	
	2. Bellovaci, Parisii, Suessones	
	3. Remi, Catalauni, Tricasses, Lingones	13
	4. Unelli vel Veneti, Saii, Lexovii, Veliocasses	Celtæ
	5. Osismii, Veneti, Namnetes, Andes, Redones	Celtæ
	6. Aureliani, Carnutes, Senones, Turones, Pictones, Bituriges	Celtæ
	7. Ædui, Segusiani	
	8. Salyes, Cavares	
	9. Volcæ, Arecomici, Helvii, Tolosates	
	10. Petrocorii, Bituriges, Cadurci, Ruteni	
	11. Aquitani	
	12. Allobroges, Centrones	
	13. Lingones, Ædui, Sequani	
	14. Leuci, Mediomatrici, Triboci, Nemetes	

United Netherlands.

1. Holland
2. Friesland
3. Zealand
4. Groningen
5. Overyssell
6. Guelderland and Zutphen
7. Utrecht

Austrian, French, and Dutch Netherlands.

1. Brabant, *Dutch* / *Austrian*
2. Antwerp, *Austrian*
3. Mechlen or Malines, *Austrian*
4. Limburgh, *Dutch* / *Austrian*
5. Luxemburgh, *French* / *Austrian*
6. Namur, *Austrian*
7. Hainault, *Austrian* / *French*
8. Cambresis, *French*
9. Artois, *French*
10. Flanders, *Dutch* / *Austrian* / *French*

SAXONES.
- 1. Frisii
- 2. Frisii
- 4. Cauci vel Chauci
- 5. Franci
- 6. Bructeri, Catti, Sicambri
- 7. Batavi

BELGÆ, &c.
- 1. Menapii, Tungrii
- 2. Toxandri
- 4. Alemanni
- 5. Alemanni
- 6. Treveri
- 7. Remi
- 9. Atrebates, Veromandui
- 10. Belgae, Morini

GERMANY.	1. Upper Saxony 2. Lower Saxony 3. Westphalia 4. Upper Rhine 5. Lower Rhine 6. Franconia 7. Austria 8. Bavaria 9. Suabia
BOHEMIA.	1. Bohemia Proper 2. Silesia 3. Moravia
POLAND.	1. Greater Poland 2. Lesser Poland 3. Prussia Royal 4. Prussia Ducal 5. Samogitia 6. Courland 7. Lithuania 8. Warsovia 9. Polachia 10. Polesia 11. Red Russia 12. Podolia 13. Volhinia

NATIONES GERMANICÆ.

- 1. Suevi Lingae, &c.
- 2. Saxones, Longobardi, Gambrivii
- 3. Cherusci, Chamavi, Gauchi, Germania Inferior
- 4. Germania Superior

  } Saxones

- 5. Marci, Tincteri
- 6. Marcomanni, Hermonduri
- 7. Noricum
- 8. Rhaetia
- 9. Vindelicia

- 1. Boiohoemum
- 2. Corconti
- 3. Quadi

GERMANO-SARMATÆ.

- 1. Peucini
- 2. Lugii
- 3. Burgundiones, Rugii, Gu-
- 4. thones
- 5. Ombroges
- 6. Scyri
- 7. } Germano-Sarmatia
- 8. }
- 11. }
- 12. } Bastarnae
- 13. }

Spain.

1. Gallicia
2. Asturia
3. Biscay
4. Navarre
5. Arragon
6. Catalonia
7. Valentia
8. Murcia
9. Granada
10. Andalusia
11. Old Castile
12. New Castile
13. Leon
14. Estremadura

Spanish Islands.

- Ivica
- Majorca
- Minorca

Portugal.

- Entre Minho e Douro
- Tralos Montes
- Beira
- Estremadura
- Entre Tajo
- Alentajo
- Algarva

HISPANIA, vel IBERIA.

1. } Gallaecia--Cantabri, Astures,
2. } Varduli
3. }

4. } Tarraconensis——Vascones,
5. } Valetani
6. }

7. } Carthaginensis——Æditani,
8. } Contestani
9. } Baetica——Bastiani, Bastuli,
10. } Turdetani, &c.

11. Gallaeciae pars--Accaei, Arevaci
12. Tarraconensis pars—Carpetani, Oretani
13. Gallaeciae pars—Vettones
14. Lusitaniae pars—Baeturia

INSULÆ HISPANICÆ. { Baleares

LUSITANIA. {
- Calliaci
- Lusitani
- Celtici

Switzerland.	1. Bern	
	2. Friburg	
	3. Basil or Bâle	
	4 Lucern	
	5. Soluturn	
	6. Schaffhausen	
	7. Zurick	
	8. Appenzel	
	9. Zug	
	10. Schweitz	
	11. Glaris	
	12. Uri	
	13. Underwald	
	14. Geneva	} Confederates
	15. Grisons, &c.	} of the Swiss
Italy.	1. Savoy	
	2. Piedmont	
	3. Montferrat	
	4. Milan	
	5. Genoa	
	6. Parma	
	7. Modena	
	8. Mantua	
	9. Venice	
	10. Trent	
	11. The Popedom	
	12. Tuscany	
	13. Lucca	
	14. San Marino	
	15. Kingdom of Naples	

HELVETIA.
- 1. 2. 3. 4. Ambrones.
- 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. Tigurini
- 14. Nantuates
- 15. Veragri, Vallis Pennina, Lepontii

ITALIA.
- 1. Leponti, Segusini, Taurini — Gallia Cisalpina, vel Togata
- 2. Orobi
- 3.
- 4. Insubres — Liguria
- 5.
- 6. Anamani — Gallia Cisalpina, vel Togata
- 7. Boii — Gallia Cisalpina, vel Togata
- 8. Cenomani — Gallia Cisalpina, vel Togata
- 9. Venetia — Gallia Cisalpina, vel Togata
- 10. Tridentini — Gallia Cisalpina, vel Togata
- 11. Lingones, Senones, Picenum, Umbria, Sabini, Pars Latii
- 12. Tuscia vel Etruria
- 13. Pars Tusciae
- 14. Pars Umbriae
- 15. Samnium, Pars Latii, Apulia, Campania, Lucania, Bruttium

Italian Islands.	1. Sicily 2. Sardinia 3. Corsica 4. Malta 5. Lipari Islands 6. Capri, Ischia, &c.

Hungary.
Transylvania.

Sclavonia.
Groatia.

Turkey in Europe.	1. Dalmatia 2. Bosnia 3. Servia 4. Wallachia 5. Moldavia and Bessarabia 6. Bulgaria 7. Albania 8. Macedonia 9. Romania 10. Livadia 11. Morea 12. Budziac Tartary or Bessarabia 13. Little Tartary 14. Crimea

Greek Islands.	1. Corfu 2. Cephalonia 3. Zante 4. Ithace, Thiace, &c.

In the Archipelago.	1. Candia 2. Negropont 3. Stalimene 4. Scyro, &c.

INSULÆ ITALICÆ
1. Sicilia, Sicania, vel Trinacria
2. Sardo, vel Sardinia
3. Cyrnus vel Corsica
4. Melita
5. Lipariae Insulae
6. Capreae, Ischia, &c.

DACIA.

PANNONIA.
ILLYRICUM.

1. Dalmatia
2. Maesia Superior
3. Dacia Ripensis
4. Getae
5. Pars Daciae
6. Maesia Inferior

GRÆCIA.
7. Epirus
8. Macedonia
9. Thracia
10. Thessalia
11. Peloponnesus
12. Scythia et pars Daciae
13. Parva Scythia
14. Taurica Chersonesus

INSULÆ MARIS IONII.
1. Corcyra
2. Cephalenia
3. Zacynthus
4. Ithaca, &c.

INSULÆ MARIS ÆGÆI.
1. Creta
2. Euboea
3. Lemnos
4. Scyros, &c.

GREAT BRITAIN.

MODERN.		ANCIENT.	
1. Edinburgh	SCOTLAND.	1. Damnii	Vectu-riones
2. Haddington		2. Damnii	Vectu-riones
3. Berwick		3. Ottodini	Vectu-riones
4. Roxburgh		4.	Selgovae
5. Selkirk		5.	Selgovae
6. Dumfries		6.	Selgovae
7. Kircudbright		7.	Selgovae
8. Peebles		8.	Novantes
9. Wigton		9.	Novantes
10. Lanerk		10.	Novantes
11. Air		11.	Novantes
12. Dumbarton	SCOTIA.	12.	Picti
13. Bute		13.	Picti
14. Renfrew		14. Damnii	Picti
15. Stirling		15.	Picti
16. Linlithgow		16.	Picti
17. Fife		17.	Picti
18. Clackmannan		18. Caledonii	Picti
19. Kinross		19. Caledonii	Picti
20. Perth		20. Caledonii	Picti
21. Argyle		21. Epidii, Gadeni, Cerones	
22. Kincardine		22. Vernicones,	Attacoti
23. Forfar		23. Horestae,	Attacoti
24. Aberdeen		24. Taezali	Attacoti
25. Banff		25. Taezali	Attacoti
26. Elgin		26. Taezali	Attacoti
27. Nairn		27. Vacomagi	
28. Inverness		28. Vacomagi	
29. Ross		29. Cantae	Scoti
30. Cromarty		30. Cantae	Scoti
31. Sutherland		31. Cantae	Scoti
32. Caithness		32. Mertae	Scoti
33. Orkney		33. Orcades	
34. Shetland		34. Thule	

GREAT BRITAIN.

	MODERN.	ANCIENT.
ENGLAND.	1. Cornwall	1. } Damnonii
	2. Devonshire	2. }
	3. Dorsetshire	3. Durotriges
	4. Hampshire	4. }
	5. Somersetshire	5. } Belgae
	6. Wiltshire	6. }
	7. Berkshire	7. Attrebatii
	8. Oxfordshire	8. } Dobuni
	9. Gloucestershire	9. }
	10. Monmouthshire	10. } Silures
	11. Herefordshire	11. }
	12. Worcestershire	12. }
	13. Staffordshire	13. } Cornavii
	14. Shropshire	14. }
	15. Essex	15. Trinobantes
	16. Hartfordshire	16. Catieuchlani
	17. Kent	17. Cantii
	18. Surry	18. } Regni
	19. Sussex	19. }
	20. Norfolk	20. } Simeni, vel
	21. Suffolk	21. } Iceni
	22. Cambridgeshire	22. }
	23. Huntingdonshire	23. } Catieuch-
	24. Bedfordshire	24. } lani
	25. Buckinghamshire	25. Attrebatii
	26. Lincolnshire	26. }
	27. Nottinghamshire	27. }
	28. Derbyshire	28. } Coritani
	29. Rutlandshire	29. }
	30. Leicestershire	30. }
	31. Warwickshire	31. Cornavi
	32. Northamptonshire	32. Catieuchlani

Great Britain.

	MODERN.	ANCIENT.
England continued.	33. Northumberland	33. } Ottadeni
	34. Durham	34. }
	35. Yorkshire	35. } Brigantes
	36. Lancashire	36. }
	37. Westmoreland	37. }
	38. Cumberland	38. }
	39. Cheshire	39. Cornavii
	40. Middlesex	40. Attrebates et Catieuchlani
Wales.	1. Anglesey	1. Mona Insula
	2. Flintshire	2. } Ordovices
	3. Montgomery	3. }
	4. Denbighshire	4. }
	5. Carnarvonshire	5. }
	6. Merioneth	6. }
	7. Cardiganshire	7. } Demetae
	8. Carmarthenshire	8. }
	9. Pembrokeshire	9. }
	10. Radnorshire	10. } Silures
	11. Brecknockshire	11. }
	12. Glamorganshire	12. }

		MODERN.	ANCIENT.
Ireland.	Leinster	1. Louth	1. Voluntii
		2. Meath East	2. } Cauci
		3. Meath West	3. }
		4. Longford	4. Auteri
		5. Dublin	5. } Blanii
		6. Kildare	6. }
		7. King's County	7. } Coriondi
		8. Queen's County	8 }
		9. Wicklow	9. Blanii
		10. Carlow	10. } Manapi
		11. Wexford	11. }
		12. Kilkenny	12. Coriondi
	Ulster	13. Donnegal or Tyrconnel	13. Vennicnii
		14. Londonderry	14. }
		15. Antrim	15. } Robogdii
		16. Tyrone	16. }
		17. Fermanagh	17. Erdini
		18. Armagh	18. }
		19. Down	19. } Voluntii
		20. Monaghan	20. }
		21. Cavan	21. Cauci
	Munster	22. Cork County	22. Vodiæ, Iverni
		23. Waterford	23. } Brigantes
		24. Tipperary	24. }
		25. Limerick	25. } Velabori
		26. Kerry	26. }
		27. Clare	27. } Gangani
	Connaught	28. Galway	28. }
		29. Roscommon	29. Auteri
		30. Mayo	30. }
		31. Sligoe	31. } Nagnatæ
		32. Leitrim	32. }

BRITANNIC ISLANDS.
1. Shetland and Orkney
2. Western Isles of Scotland
3. Man
4. Anglesey
5. Wight

MODERN ASIA.

TURKEY in ASIA.
1. Natolia
2. Amasia or Siwas
3. Aladulia
4. Caramania
5. Irak
6. Diarbeck
7. Curdistan
8. Turcomania
9. Georgia
10. Syria and Palestine

ARABIA.
Arabia Petraea
Arabia Deserta
Arabia Felix

INSULÆ BRITANNICA.
- 1. Thule
- 2. Ebudes Insulae
- 3. Monaeda vel Mona
- 4. Mona
- 5. Vectis

ANCIENT ASIA.

ASIA MINOR.
- 1. Mysia, Lydia, Caria, Phrygia, Bithynia, Galatia, Paphlagonia
- 2. Pontus
- 3. Armenia
- 4. Cappadocia, Cilicia, &c.

- 5. Babylonia, Chaldæa
- 6. Mesopotamia
- 7. Assyria
- 8. } Armenia Major
- 9. }
- 10. { Syria, Palmyrene
  Phœnicia, Judæa

ARABIA.
- Arabia Petræa
- Arabia Deserta
- Arabia Felix

- PERSIA.
  1. Chorassan
  2. Balk, Sablustan, and Candahar
  3. Sigistan
  4. Makeran
  5. Kerman
  6. Farsistan
  7. Chusestan
  8. Irak Agem
  9. Curdestan
  10. Aderbeitzen
  11. Georgia
  12. Gangea
  13. Dagestan
  14. Mazanderam
  15. Gilan Taberistan
  16. Chirvan
- INDIA.
  - Mogol
    - Delli
    - Agra
    - Cambaia
    - Bengal
  - India within the Ganges
    - Decan
    - Golconda
    - Bisnagar
    - Malabar
  - Island of Ceylon
  - India beyond the Ganges.
    - Pegu
    - Tonquin
    - Cochinchina
    - Siam

PERSIA.
- 1. Pars Hyrcaniae et Sogdianae
- 2. Bactriana
- 3. Drangiana
- 4.
- 5. Gedrosia
- 6. Persis
- 7. Susiana
- 8. Parthia
- 9. Pars Assyriae
- 10. Media
- 11. 12. 13. Iberia, Colchis, et Albania
- 15. Pars Hyrcaniae
- 16. Pars Albaniae

INDIA.
- India intra Gangem.
  - Palibothra
  - Agora
  - Regna Pori et Taxilis
  - Dachanos
  - Prasii *vel* Gangaridae
  - Male
- Taprobana Ins. *vel* Salice
- India extra Gangem.
  - Sinarum Regio

MODERN.		ANCIENT.
China.	Niuche	
	Corea	
	Laotong	Sinae
	Pekin	
	Xansi	Serica
	Xensi	
	Xantum	Cathaea
	Nanking	
	Chekiam	
	Honan	
	Huquam	
	Kiamsi	
	Fokien	
	Canton	
	Quamsi	
	Suchuen	
	Quecheu	
	Yunum	
Chinese Islands.	Formosa	
	Ainan	
	Macao	
	Bashee Islands	
Russia in Asia.	1. Astracan	1. Sarmatia Asiatica
	2. Orenburg	Scythia 2.
	3. Casan	3.
	4. Siberia, Tobolsk, Jeniseia, Irkutsk, Kamschatka	intra Imaum.
Independent Tartary.	1. Great Buccharia	1. Bactriana, Sogdiana
	2. Karasm	2. Aria

MODERN.		ANCIENT.	
Aluth. Tartars.	1. Little Bucharia		1.
	2. Casgar		1.
	3. Turkestan	Scythia.	2.
	4. Kalmac Tartars	extra	4.
	5. Thibet	Imaum.	5.
	6. Little Thibet		6.
Chinese Tartary.	Kalkas Mongol Tartars Mantchou Tartars Corea	Sinæ	
Islands of Chinese Tartary.	Sagalien-Ula-hata Jedso		
Islands of Japan.	Japan or Niphon Xicoco Ximo		
Philippine Isles.	Lucon or Manilla Mindanao, &c.		
Marian or Ladrone Islands.	Tinian		
Isles of Sunda.	Borneo Sumatra Java, &c.		
Molucca Isles.	Celebes Amboyna Ceram Timor Flores, &c.		
Maldiva Isles.			

MODERN AFRICA.

1. Morocco
2. Algiers
3. Tunis
4. Tripoli
5. Barca

BARBARY.

1. EGYPT
2. BILDULGERID
3. ZAARA, or the Desert
4. NEGROLAND
5. GUINEA

6. UPPER ETHIOPIA, { Nubia, Abyssinia, Abex
7. LOWER ETHIOPIA
8. LOWER GUINEA, { Loango, Congo, Angola, Benguela, Matanan

9. AJAN
10. ZANGUEBAR
11. MONOMOTAPA
12. MONOEMUGI
13. SOFOLA
14. TERRA de NATAL
15. CAFRARIA, or country of the Hottentots.

ANCIENT AFRICA.

1. Mauretania Tingitana
2. Mauretania Caesariensis
3. Numidia, Africa Propria
4. Tripolitana
5. Cyrenaica, Libya Superior

1. Ægyptus
2. Libya Inferior, Gætulia
3. Solitudines
4. Autololes.

6. Æthiopiæ et Libyæ pars

7. Æthiopiæ pars

NORTH AMERICA.

British.

1. The countries on the east and west sides of Baffin's and Hudson's Bays
2. Labrador, or New Britain
3. Canada
4. Nova Scotia
5. New England
6. New York
7. New Jersey
8. Pennsylvania
9. Maryland
10. Virginia
11. North Carolina
12. South Carolina
13. Georgia
14. Florida

} United States.

Islands.

1. Newfoundland
2. Cape Breton
3. Bermudas
4. Long Island
5. Bahama Islands
6. Jamaica
7. St Christopher's
8. Nevis
9. Monserrat
10. Antigua
11. Dominica
12. St Vincent
13. Tobago
14. Grenada
15. Barbadoes, &c. &c.

NORTH AMERICA.

Spanish.

1. Mexico or New Spain
2. New Mexico
3. Louisiana

Islands.

1. Cuba
2. Porto Rico
3. West part of St Domingo
4. Trinidad
5. Margarita
6. Cubagua, &c.

DUTCH Islands.

1. Part of St Martin's Isle
2. Eustatius
3. Aves
4. Buenayres
5. Curacoa
6. Aruba

FRENCH ISLANDS.

1. Miquelon
2. St Pierre
3. Part of St Martin's Isle
4. St Bartholomew
5. Martinico
6. Guadaloupe
7. Desiada
8. Mariegalante
9. St Lucia
10. Part of St Domingo

DANISH ISLANDS.

1. St Thomas
2. Santa Cruz

SOUTH AMERICA.

FRENCH. Part of the Province of Guiana, Cayenne, &c.

SPANISH.
1. Terra Firma
2. Country of the Amazons
3. Peru
4. Chili
5. Terra Magellanica
6. Paraguay
7. Tucuman

DUTCH. Part of Guiana, Surinam, &c.

PORTUGUESE.
Brasil, and many islands on the coast
Part of Guiana

The Empire of ASSYRIA, under Ninus and Semiramis, about 2200 before J. C. comprehended,

Asia Minor
Colchis
Assyria
Media Chaldea
Egypt

The Empire of ASSYRIA, as divided about 820 before J. C. formed three Kingdoms.

Media		
Babylo-Chaldea	{	Syria
		Chaldea
Lydia		All Asia Minor

The Empire of the PERSIANS, under Darius Hystaspes, 522 before J. C. comprehended,

Persis
Susiana
Chaldea
Assyria
Media
Bactriana
Armenia
Asia
Parthia
Iberia
Albania
Colchis
Asia Minor
Egypt
Part of Ethiopia
Part of Scythia

The Empire of ALEXANDER THE GREAT, 330 before J. C. conssited of,

1. All Macedonia and Greece, excepting Peloponnesus
2. All the Persian Empire, as above described
3. India to the banks of the Indus on the east, and the Iaxartes or Tanais on the north.

The Empire of ALEXANDER was thus divided 306 before J. C. between Ptolemy, Cassander, Lysimachus, and Seleucus.

Empire of Ptolemy.	Egypt, Lybia, Arabia, Coelosyria, Palestine
Empire of Cassander.	Macedonia, Greece
Empire of Lysimachus.	Thrace, Bithynia
Empire of Seleucus.	Syria, and All the rest of Alexander's empire

The Empire of the PARTHIANS, 140 before J. C. comprehended,

Parthia
Hyrcania
Media
Persis
Bactriana
Babylonia
Mesopotamia
India to the Indus

The ROMAN Empire, under the Kings, was confined to the City of Rome, and a few miles around it.

The ROMAN Empire, at the end of the Republic, comprehended,

All Italy
Great part of Gaul
Part of Britain
Africa Proper
Great part of Spain
Illyria, Istria, Liburnia, Dalmatia
Achaia
Macedonia
Dardania, Moesia, Thracia
Pontus, Armenia
Judaea, Cilicia, Syria
Egypt

Under the Emperors,

All Spain
The Alpes, Maritimae, Piedmont, &c.
Rhaetia, Noricum, Pannonia, & Moesia
Pontus Armenia
Assyria
Arabia
Egypt

} were reduced into Roman provinces.

Constantius Chlorus and Galerius divided the Empire into EASTERN and WESTERN; and under Constantine each had a distinct capital or seat of Empire.

The extent of each division was fluctuating from time to time; but in general,

The WESTERN Empire comprehended,
- Italy
- Illyria
- Africa
- Spain
- The Gauls
- Britain

The EASTERN Empire comprehended,
- Asia Minor
- Pontus, Armenia
- Assyria, Media, &c.
- Egypt
- Thrace
- Dacia
- Macedonia

The Empire of CHARLEMAGNE, A. D. 800, comprehended,

FRANCE.
- Neustria, comprehending Bretany, Normandy, Isle of France, Orleannois
- Austria, comprehending Picardy, & Champagne
- Aquitania, comprehending Guienne, and Gascony
- Burgundia, comprehending Burgundy, Lionnois, Languedoc, Dauphine, Provence

Marca Hispanica, or Navarre and Catalonia
Majorca, Minorca, and Ivica, Corsica
Italy, as far south as Naples
Istria, Liburnia, Dalmatia
Rhaetia, Vindelica, Noricum
Germany, from the Rhine to the Oder, and the banks of the Baltic.

END OF VOLUME FIRST.

BSB Bayerische StaatsBibliothek

MDZ Münchener DigitalisierungsZentrum Digitale Bibliothek

Woodhouselee, Alexander Fraser Tytler,

Elements of general History, ancient and modern To which are added a table of chronology and a comparative view of ancient and modern geography

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